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INSIDE EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S The New York Times WEEKLY REVIEW

NRP draws up list of coalition guidelines

HERB KEINON NATIONAL Religious Party MK Hanan Porat has drawn up his party's wish list for the new government's guidelines on peace and security issues.

- Neither a Palestinian state nor any other foreign sovereignty will be established between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. There will be no negotiations over the status of Jerusalem.



A Jordanian offers sweets to an Israeli family on their arrival in Amman yesterday, on the inauguration of the bus service from Tel Aviv.

Clinton tells Arab leaders: Give Netanyahu a chance to prove himself

DAVID MAKOVSKY and news agencies PRESIDENT Bill Clinton urged Arab nations yesterday to reserve judgment on the new government of prime minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu until it has had a chance to form its policies.

Levy, Eitan all smiles after meeting with Netanyahu

SARAH HONIG BOTH Tsomet's Rafael Eitan and Geshet's David Levy emerged visibly satisfied from their meetings with prime minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu yesterday.

Space allotted in Jerusalem for non-Orthodox burial

HAIM SHAPIRO DESPITE rumors that the religious parties are trying to utilize the coalition talks to reverse progress on secular burial, Jerusalem moved one step closer to acquiring a non-Orthodox burial section yesterday.

Ayalon: Anti-terror Command should be included in National Security Council

GENERAL Security Service director Ami Ayalon yesterday recommended to the cabinet that it incorporate the Anti-terrorism Command into the proposed National Security Council (NSC).

Couple killed in apparent terrorist shooting

BILL HUTMAN A HUSBAND and wife were shot dead, apparently by terrorists in a passing car, near Moshav Gefen last night.

Qatari Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad al-Thani during a visit to Damascus

WASHINGTON, scheduled soon thereafter. Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat, Jordan's King Hussein, and Lebanese President Elias Hrawi were immediately invited by Muharak.

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Ayalon: Anti-terror Command should be included in National Security Council

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A Salute to Israel's Soldiers Honoring IDF soldiers who are combining academic studies with army service. Under the patronage of President Ezer Weizman

Vertical text on the right margin: y: rs, nal charges, did it is not, Iso recom, ll upon the, erment to, it recom, aw, ic feeling, is in the, by if we, n new sig, cultural, the global, he is well, this will, I'm will, and, ave, ?



Barak bids to advance Labor leadership primary

FOREIGN Minister Ehud Barak has called a meeting of Labor MKs this afternoon aimed at advancing the election of the party's leader and candidate for prime minister. Barak has already made it clear he is determined to run for the party leadership.

Ministers Avraham Shohat, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, and David Liba'i are expected to attend the meeting - which was described as "unofficial" - as well as most Labor MKs who are not among Interior Minister Haim Ramon's supporters.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres and ministers Yossi Beilin, Uzi Baram, Ephraim Sneh, and Moshe Shahal are not expected to attend the meeting. Barak wants to hold Labor's leadership showdown in about six

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

months. Instead of waiting until next summer, as was earlier suggested by Labor Secretary-General Nissim Zvillil.

Shohat last night rejected the notion that the meeting would in any way undermine Peres's leadership, and denied any intention of "pushing Peres out of the leadership or crowding him to a timetable he is not interested in. I see Peres as the party's leader. He has asked us for some time to reorganize and consider his next moves and we will respect that."

Shohat said that he, Barak, Ben-Eliezer, and Liba'i have been holding consultations for several weeks. "We need to set a political agenda based on the situation we are now in. As a party in opposition we need to get organized for

the long term and elect our candidate for prime minister within a year, according to Labor's constitution," he said.

"We are not setting up a camp," he stressed. "We are a group of political people and we need to discuss things."

"Most of the party's Knesset members will be at the meeting, and we are not closing the door to others joining us."

Shohat said he himself will not contest the party's leadership and sees his new role as rehabilitating and reorganizing the party, as well as leading the opposition in economic matters.

As for the internal fighting in Labor over the electoral defeat, Shohat said he opposes any kind of inquiry or tribunal. "Everyone can analyze things for himself," he said.



Gesher's David Levy (left) and Tsomet's Rafael Eitan arrive at the Knesset for their meetings with Binyamin Netanyahu yesterday. (Ariel Jeruzolimski)

From the demeanor of Yitzhak Mordechai after his conversation with Netanyahu last Friday, it is assumed he believes he will be the next defense minister.

Those around Netanyahu are still insisting he will be able to present his government next Monday, when the new Knesset convenes for its first session, even though talks with the religious parties seem bogged down. No meetings between the Likud and these parties took place yesterday. The National Religious Party's

LEVY

(Continued from Page 1)

MK Yitzhak Levy complained that "there are no talks. Netanyahu is still in the underground."

But the Likud reported that some progress has been made in portfolio allocation. It is said that the NRP would get Education and Communications, and Shas, Interior and Labor and Social Affairs. The Trade and Industry

portfolio would go to Yissael Ba'alya's Natan Sharansky, and Transport and Tourism to the Third Way's Avigdor Kahalani. The Third Way is also demanding a deputy minister post for Emanuel Zissman.

Netanyahu's spokesman adamantly denied anything relating to the fraud trial of Shas's Aryeh Deri came up at a Friday meeting between Netanyahu and Deri's lawyer, Dan Avi-Yitzhak. The two, he said, are simply old friends.

Shohat, Shahal clash at cabinet session

BITTER arguments between Finance Minister Avraham Shohat and Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal broke out during yesterday's cabinet meeting, with Shahal reportedly calling Shohat "the worst finance minister this country has ever had."

The fight erupted when Shahal again introduced his plan for "separation" between Israel and the territories, which was first drawn up under prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, and which has since undergone many revisions.

Shahal demanded additional funding to implement various ele-

ments of the plan. Shohat, who has consistently demanded that the security apparatus finance most of the plan from its own budgets, refused. The argument became more heated until Shahal erupted with his insult, sources at the meeting said.

Commenting on Shahal's attacks on him, Shohat said last night on Channel 1, "I have no explanation for that outburst. He must be frustrated by what happened to him during the past year."

Another argument broke out during the discussion of a propos-

al by Shahal and Environment Minister Yossi Sarid to set up a committee of inquiry into claims by the kibbutzim that they had been overcharged by banks that had lent them money.

Upon learning that Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair had recommended against setting up such a committee, the cabinet voted it down, with Shohat supporting Ben-Yair. Both Sarid and Shahal reacted angrily to the decision, saying the kibbutzim would soon turn to the courts and initiate lengthy and expensive legal action. (Itim)

Gaza settlers complain about Palestinian flour mill

GUSH Katif settlement leaders expressed anger over the cornerstone laying ceremony for a \$16 million Palestinian flour mill to be built on state land near the main road into Gush Katif.

Abaron Tzur, the recently elected head of the Gush Katif local council, said this represents a last minute "grab" by the government. Gush Katif officials said that the Friday dedication ceremony, attended by Yasser Arafat and in an

area that is state land, had to be approved by the government.

Tzur said the settlement council will work with government authorities in an attempt to get the construction of the mill canceled. Dania Yitzhaki, spokeswoman for the council, said that mill is to be constructed 95 meters from the main road, but will inevitably move to within 75 meters of the road,

where for security reasons any construction is prohibited.

Yitzhaki also said that the mill will be an ecological problem, as its waste will "cover greenhouses" in the area.

Yitzhaki said the PA could have built the flour mill on "thousands of empty dunams in Gaza, but wanted to put it here to prove sovereignty over land near the settlements."

The mill, to be constructed by an Egyptian company, is to have the

Report: Antisemitism waning in Europe, rearing its head in the US

MARILYN HENRY NEW YORK

THE threat of antisemitism entering the political mainstream in Europe appears to have peaked, but a new menace is on the rise - the breaking of the American taboo against bigoted expression, according to the 1996 Antisemitism World

Report. A wave of European antisemitism, fueled in part by the collapse of communism, seems to

have lessened in eastern and central Europe, according to the report, a collaborative effort of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research in London and the American Jewish Committee in New York. A recent survey, for example, revealed that Russians currently show fairly low levels of hostility toward Jews.

However, the report said, far-right parties have solid bases of support in France, Italy, Austria and Belgium.

In the US, the report noted with concern, extremist militias are a growing presence and Louis Farrakhan, the controversial leader of the Nation of Islam, has reached growing stature. His "Million Man March" on Washington last October demonstrated that Farrakhan had a broad-based appeal among blacks.

Jewish leaders find it more difficult to find allies in the battle against antisemitism, as it is no longer "fashionable" to champion Jewish causes, the report said. Further, "Jews are routinely challenged by other Americans to 'prove' that Louis Farrakhan is an antisemite."

These events occur within a "general coarsening of public discourse in the USA, where the use of racial and ethnic epithets has become a common occurrence," said the report, which is being released today. Part of that trend includes a breakdown of the taboo on expressions of antisemitism.

IN the countdrum that is the Great Portfolio Giveaway, there are a few gives: the National Religious Party will get the Education Ministry, Shas Interior, and United Torah Judaism the chairmanship of the Knesset Finance Committee.

But why? Why is Interior so important to Shas, or the Knesset Finance Committee to UTJ. And what about the other ministries that the religious parties desire? What is the connection?

Bar-Ilan University Prof. Eliezer Doo-Yehiya said that to understand why the religious parties desire specific ministries, it is necessary to understand that the big three - Finance, Defense, and Foreign Affairs - are outside their grasp. It is unlikely that Binyamin Netanyahu is going to offer Shlomo Benizri the Foreign Ministry.

Which means that the religious parties must cast their eyes on "second tier" ministries, of which Interior, Education, Housing, and Labor and Social Affairs are the most well endowed and powerful.

The Shas affinity with the Interior Ministry, Don-Yehiya explained, has to do with a long tradition of religious party control over that ministry, which dates back to the 1950s and '60s. At that time the person in control of the ministry had effective decision-making power over who could be

BACKGROUND HERB KEINON

registered as a Jew, something that the religious parties wanted to monitor. In the intervening years, these questions were anchored in law, but the head of the ministry still exerts a great deal of control over these matters.

Secondly, Don-Yehiya pointed out, this ministry controls huge budgets that are allotted to the various local authorities and religious councils. With these budgets, the interior minister can assure that synagogues and mikvaot are built in areas he deems necessary.

Benizri, when asked why Shas is so keen on this ministry, said it has to do with "tradition." Shas has held the portfolio off and on since the mid-1980s, first when it was held by Yitzhak Peretz, and later by Aryeh Deri.

The reason the NRP is so desirous of Education has to do with its interest in the development of the State Religious schools, as well as a desire to inculcate more Jewish curricula into the secular schools. There is also "tradition" involved here as well, since NRP head Zevulun Hammer has already served in this post for two terms.

The Housing Ministry is important for all the religious parties

because it provides them with an opportunity to look after the housing needs of their constituents, harden for UTJ, hareidim and low-income Sephardim for Shas, and settlements for the NRP.

It is less obvious why both Shas and the NRP covet the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry. Don-Yehiya said it has much to do with both parties feeling that many of their constituents use its services, and control gives them a chance to directly benefit their constituents.

In addition, this ministry is in control of the division that enforces the laws against opening businesses on Shabbat. He who controls it determines to a large extent how strictly this law will be enforced. The NRP's Shaul Yabalom has said repeatedly that this is one of his party's priorities.

As for control of the Religious Affairs Ministry, the reason Shas and the NRP are wrangling for it is largely because of the patronage opportunities it affords. Since the ministry pays the wages of scores of religious functionaries, from neighborhood rabbis to kashrut supervisors and religious court judges, the party in control has ample opportunity to pay-back party activists.

Weizman: Arab states should not be prejudiced against Netanyahu

News agencies

ARAB states should not prejudge Ehud Barak's peace policies, says Weizman's new President-Ezer Weizman today.

"I think it is not so easy to be already starting to take their positions before the government is formed," Weizman said. "Weizman's opinion," Weizman said, "is that of Moshe Margalit, head of the North."

Syria has said that Netanyahu's campaign promises were a "mount to war, and Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinians have expressed concern that Netanyahu would not maintain commitments pledged by Prime Minister Shimon Peres."

"I am requesting that Egypt and Jordan, Egypt especially, lead in the right way and not the easy way," Weizman said. "If the elections have led them to stronger unity, then apparently something worries them."

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has invited 12 Arab leaders to a summit in Cairo to try to form a united front against the new government.

On Friday, it was reported that a Netanyahu-appointed team has drafted policy guidelines that included a pledge by the new government to expand Jewish settlements. The draft also ruled out a Palestinian state, a division of Jerusalem, and a withdrawal from the Golan Heights.

The Likud, however, maintained that the draft guidelines were unofficial, and had not been approved by Netanyahu.

CLINTON

(Continued from Page 1)

affairs. I don't believe any decision will be taken at this summit until we know the new policies of the new government, but rather there will be a positive call for peace. This new government must be given a chance."

Rifai said he is convening the six Arab countries with embassies or missions in Israel to serve as a "peace lobby" for the Cairo summit. Arab embassies and quasi-diplomatic missions in Tel Aviv will hold their first consultations on Wednesday to discuss the Israeli elections.

So far there has been no official US response to the convening of the Arab summit. In an interview with Reuters yesterday, US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk said Netanyahu has given early signals that he is a pragmatist. "We are encouraged by what we heard and by our initial con-

The Knesset Finance Committee is covered by UTJ because, for ideological reasons, the party's two factions - Agudat Yisrael and Degel Hatorah - have opposed cabinet positions, and the committee, which directs the ministry's allocations, is arguably as powerful as any second tier ministry.

UTJ MK Avraham Kevitz said that the party's objection to taking the ministry stems from an ideological objection to the concept of a minister taking collective responsibility for the acts of the government. A UTJ minister, he said, would have problems taking responsibility, for example, for the policies of the Tourism Ministry. This problem does not exist for the chair of the Finance Committee.

Another way to get around the collective responsibility problem is merely to appoint a UTJ deputy minister, with no minister appointed above him. This way the deputy ministry will have effective control over the ministry, without sharing in the collective responsibility of the cabinet. Such a situation existed in the last Likud government, when Menachem Porush was deputy minister of the labor and social affairs, while the portfolio remained officially in the hands of then prime minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Other issues aside from the Netanyahu government are likely to arise at the summit. Arab diplomats told Reuters in Amman that Jordan, Bahrain, and other Arab states are likely to press Syria on allegations that it backed radical groups on sabotage missions against their governments. The diplomats said they believe these governments are preparing "documented files" on alleged sabotaged attempts involving Syrian-based or pro-Iranian parties with strong links to Damascus.

GUIDELINES

● The UTJ will receive chairmanship of the Knesset Finance Committee; Shas will chair the Knesset Labor and Social Affairs Committee; and the NRP will get the Law Committee.

● Municipal elections will be held in Bnei Brak within six months.

● A committee made up of the coalition partners will be set up to re-examine the National Health Insurance Law and its implementation.

● A committee will be set up to compensate Torah institutions and the religious and hareid educational system for budgets that were eroded over the last four years.

● The government will set up an

authority to fight traffic accidents.

● The government will preserve the status quo on religious issues, and will work to preserve the Jewish character of the state.

● All legislation will be agreed upon by all the coalition partners.

● The law concerning conversion will be amended so that conversions can only be carried out with approval of the Chief Rabbinate.

● The government will solve the housing problems for all those who need housing, and housing policy will be worked out between the coalition partners.

● The electoral system will not be changed unless agreed upon by the coalition partners.

● No other coalition partner will be added without the agreement of the existing partners.

● The government will make education a top priority.

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Prof. Hanoch Gutfreund
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Our deepest sympathies and condolences to **Prof. Zvi Griliches** and his family on the tragic loss of his sister

ELLEN

The Board of Directors and the staff of **The Maurice Falk Institute for Economic Research in Israel** and **The Chairman and the Faculty of the Department of Economics The Hebrew University, Jerusalem**

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The Ground Forces Command's entertainment troupe on stage yesterday in Tel Aviv, where the troupe, along with several comedians, staged a marathon of stand-up comedy for the command's soldiers in cooperation with the Association for Soldiers' Welfare. (Israel Sun)

Transport Ministry: Prosecute employers as well as drivers

HAIM SHAPIRO

THE Transport Ministry's Road Safety Administration yesterday recommended prosecuting employers as well as drivers, after a truck driven by a Palestinian who was allegedly smuggled into Israel by his boss crushed to death two women last Friday.

The driver of the truck, Fadel Mohammed, 23, of Ramallah, was remanded yesterday by the Jerusalem Magistrates Court for six days. The police said that not only did he not have an Israeli license, but that he is in the country illegally.

The accident occurred around noon when the truck, a giant earth-mover carrying a full load of dirt, entered the Ramot road near the entrance to Jerusalem from the construction site of the Lifta tunnel. Police said the truck made too wide a turn, hitting and crushing a car driven by Michal Koren, 66, of Ma'aleh Adumim, killing her and a friend, Porgy Manos, 50, of Belgium.

According to the police, the only

identifying document carried by Mohammed was a license issued by the Palestinian Authority. The police also said he had been brought into Israel illegally every day by his employer, a construction contractor.

The driver admitted to the court that he has no Israeli license, but said he works to support his 11 brothers and sisters and ill father. He had not meant to kill anyone, he said. Mohammed also said the accident occurred because the truck had faulty brakes and Koren had been driving very fast.

However, the police testified that the truck had been examined on Friday and found to be in good working order. The only cause of the accident was the driver's lack of expertise, the police representative said.

In the Road Safety Administration's special meeting yesterday, it decided to recommend to the state

attorney to bring criminal charges against the owners of transport and trucking companies whose drivers are involved in accidents involving death or injury.

The administration said it is not enough for employers to bear only moral responsibility.

The administration also recommended that Transport Ministry inspectors make spot checks of truck drivers' licenses and truck registration.

It also decided to call upon the justice minister to stiffen the penalties for drivers involved in accidents in which people were killed or injured.

It called upon the government to recognize that the fight against road accidents is as important as the war against terror, and to allocate an additional NIS 10 million to the National Traffic Police, in order to strengthen enforcement of traffic regulations.

In order to do this, it recommended that the traffic police have the use of a helicopter.

State: Tapping lawyer was needed to obtain evidence against 'Ma'ariv' execs

EVELYN GORDON

TAPPING the phone of attorney Mordechai Katz was necessary to prevent Ma'ariv publisher Ofer Nimrodi from "buying the results of a police investigation with money," the state told the High Court of Justice yesterday.

Katz had petitioned the High Court to demand that the indictment against him for obstructing justice be dropped, on the grounds that the police had improperly bugged his office phone, thereby violating lawyer-client privilege. Two weeks ago, the court issued a show-cause order requiring the state to justify its actions.

In an affidavit to the court, Cmdr. Avi Cohen, head of the police's criminal investigation division, explained that though they had arrested Rafi Friedan and Ya'acov Tsur for wiretapping dozens of

journalists, businessmen and other prominent figures, the police felt the real criminals were those who commissioned the taps. Information reaching the police pointed to Nimrodi and Ma'ariv security officer David Ronen as the culprits, but as months went by, it became clear that unless either Friedan or Tsur turned state's evidence, the police would never have enough evidence to make an indictment against Nimrodi and Ronen stick.

However, Cohen continued, information reaching the police also indicated that Nimrodi was paying Friedan and Tsur sizable sums in hush money, which were transmitted via their attorney, Katz. If therefore became crucial to the

police to break this trail by getting enough evidence to indict Katz, and a wiretap seemed the only way.

While wiretapping an attorney should certainly be a last resort, Cohen continued, conversations relating to illegal actions committed by the lawyer, such as the transference of hush money, are not covered by lawyer-client immunity. It would be irrational, he added, to say that the country's 18,000 lawyers should all enjoy full immunity from wiretapping under any circumstances.

Cohen stressed that the police obtained the necessary permit from the Tel Aviv District Court before tapping Katz's phone. The court knew that Katz was a lawyer when it authorized the tap, he said, and it

even knew that the tap would cover periods when Katz was not in the office - something for which Katz had charged there could certainly be no justification.

Even if the district court erred in granting the wiretapping order, Cohen continued, the police acted in good faith according to a legal order, and the evidence should therefore be admissible.

However, Cohen agreed with Katz in opposing a decision by the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court which said complete transcripts of the taps should be given to Nimrodi and Ronen.

The relevant material should certainly be given to them, he said, but most of the material is completely irrelevant, and should enjoy the immunity normally given to lawyer-client conversations.

AG Ben-Yair: Local authorities disregard the law

EVELYN GORDON

DISREGARD for the law among local authority heads seems to stem from a combination of poor supervision and too much red tape, which creates immense pressure to "cut corners," Attorney-General Michael Ben-Yair said in a speech to municipal legal advisers yesterday.

Since most people have more direct contact with their local authorities than with other branches of the government, it is critical that municipalities uphold the rule of law, to prevent the public from developing contempt for

this principle, Ben-Yair said. In practice, however, many municipalities either bend or completely ignore the laws, he said.

One reason for this is simply insufficient supervision of the municipalities, Ben-Yair said - and one way to remedy this, he added, is to increase the power of municipal legal advisers. A bill currently before the Knesset Interior Committee, which would make the municipal legal advisers

services available to the entire city council, rather than just the mayor, would improve the situation, he said.

However, he continued, another problem is that in many areas, such as planning and building, local authorities are dependent on a multitude of bureaucratic approvals from non-municipal bodies.

This often creates the feeling, said Ben-Yair, that no local project will ever get off the ground within a reasonable period of time unless corners are cut.

Hebrew University opens 'strategic center for world Jewry'

YOCHI DREAZEN

HEBREW University has announced the creation of the Mandel Strategic Center for the Jewish People, dedicated to issues of Jewish continuity.

University President Hanoch Gutfreund explained that the center comes as result of extensive interviews with Jewish leaders worldwide.

"We hoped to get a sense of the needs and expectations of the Jewish world, as seen by its leaders," he said. "The university hopes to use its assets to meet those needs." Mandel added that Hebrew University was the "ideal" location for the center.

"The Jewish people need the brain power of Hebrew University," he said. "We won't make it if we don't all dance to the same tune."

Dr. Alan Hoffman, slated to become the center's first director, said that he sees the center as a type of "switchboard."

"We hope to come up with specific ideas and recommendations, which will then be picked up and funded by other philanthropic institutions," he said.

Minister Yossi Beilin said that questions of Jewish continuity are closely related to questions of Jewish education.

"Without one, there cannot be the other," he said. "So the question becomes one of educating people about what it means to be a Jewish in the modern world."

Likud MK Dan Meridor added that Jewish continuity is as rele-

vant in Israel as it is in the Diaspora.

"If we no longer play by the same religious rules, if we no longer have a universal language, the question of whether we are still one people takes on new significance," he said. "Clearly, trying to create a Jewish cultural identity in the time of the global village, CNN, and the Internet is a major concern for all of us."

Mandel admitted that he is well aware of the difficult task ahead of him, and the uncertain role his center might play in it.

"I don't know where this will end up. I don't even know if this will make a difference," he said. "But I hope it will, and I'm willing to give improving the Jewish condition my best shot."

Diamond dealer suspected of staging robbery appeals bail conditions

RAINE MARCUS

A 27-year-old local diamond dealer suspected of staging a diamond robbery in Los Angeles appealed his bail conditions in Tel Aviv District Court recently.

Yaron Danovitz, 27, of Ra'anana, was arrested around two weeks ago, after several dealers from the Ramat Gan Diamond Exchange complained to police.

Danovitz, whose father-in-law, Ya'acov Ben-Shahar, is well known at the exchange, earned the trust of diamond dealers by first taking small amounts of diamonds to sell abroad.

Diamond dealers who knew Danovitz's father-in-law then began to trust him with larger amounts of diamonds, believing that he was insured for theft.

Danovitz took diamonds valued at over \$600,000 to sell in Los Angeles, but there he reported having been robbed of all the gems.

When he returned here the seven diamond dealers discovered that he had no insurance,

and suspected that Danovitz had staged the robbery. They reported the incident to police.

Danovitz was arrested and released on NIS 40,000 bail, but is now appealing the bail conditions to the Tel Aviv District Court. Judge Abraham Baiser will hear the appeal tomorrow.

Meanwhile, a diamond workshop owner reported a robbery of \$150,000 of diamonds yesterday. The burglars apparently broke in to the workshop over the weekend. Police are investigating.

Court told Tel Aviv bars Arabs from Hebrew-speaking schools

EVELYN GORDON

THE Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) yesterday petitioned the High Court of Justice against the Tel Aviv Municipality's decision to bar Arabs from Hebrew-speaking schools.

The petition was filed on behalf of a four-year-old Jaffa boy who was denied entry to the Hebrew-speaking nursery school nearest his home, because of a new policy requiring Arabs to attend only Arabic or bilingual nursery schools. However, since the policy also states that only children who studied in Hebrew-speaking nursery schools will be accepted into the city's Hebrew-speaking elementary schools, this policy effectively bars Arab children from entering mainstream Israeli schools and acquiring a working knowledge of Hebrew, the petition said.

Therefore, the petition continued, this policy effectively condemns Arabs to a lifetime of second-class citizenship, since fluency in Hebrew is a prerequisite for either being accepted to university or obtaining a decent job.

According to the municipality, these new directives come from the Education Ministry, the petition said. However, ministry spokeswoman Rivka Shraga denied this. It is true that the ministry requires children to have learned in a Hebrew-speaking nursery school to enter a Hebrew-speaking elementary school, she said, but the ministry imposes no restrictions on Arab children entering Jewish nursery schools. Furthermore, she said, a bilingual nursery school is sufficient to enable a child to enter a Hebrew-speaking elementary school.

ACRI attorney Hadas Tagari agreed that until recently, Arab children in Jaffa could attend Jewish nursery schools. However, the petition said, new directives

which appear to be from the Education Ministry - state that for "pedagogical and education reasons," Arabic speakers should now be sent only to Arabic-speaking nursery schools.

Since there are no city-run Arabic-speaking nursery schools in Jaffa, however, in practice Arab children are being sent to the city's one bilingual nursery school.

The petition argued that the

city's new practice, by discriminating on the basis of nationality, violates both the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom and the Compulsory Education Law, which was recently amended to prohibit discrimination according to community of origin.

There is nothing wrong with parents choosing to send their children to Arabic-speaking schools, Tagari continued, and in fact, most of Jaffa's Arabs do. However, she said, forcing them to do so is discriminatory and illegal.

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Meeting of Suppliers Tender 65/96/122/0
Michsaf, Financial Management System
A meeting of suppliers will be held on Wednesday, July 3, 1996, at 12 noon, in the meetings room, Floor 8, the Bezeq Administration Building, 16 Rehov Hazvi, Jerusalem.
Participation in the meeting is mandatory, and the bid of any supplier who does not attend will not be considered.
All other conditions, as previously announced, are unchanged.
Suppliers are reminded that the last date for submitting bids is July 23, 1996, at 6 p.m.
Queries should be made to Tel. 02-395614/5.

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Ulster politicians out to 'win,' not compromise

BELFAST (AP) — Compromise is the official goal when Northern Ireland politicians sit down together under US supervision today, but the most stubborn figures will have the strongest voices.

John Alderdice, leader of the only Northern Ireland party to win support from both Catholics and Protestants, has seen other talks collapse, and he is particularly pessimistic about this effort.

"There's no point in pretending that this is not a deeply divided community. It is," the Alliance Party leader said in an interview.

"And neither side is prepared to compromise at present. Both will talk about compromise. Neither are prepared to do it. The problem is, both sides still think they can win."

Prime ministers John Major of Britain and John Bruton of Ireland will open the negotiations and then hand over the chair to President Clinton's key Northern Ireland adviser, former Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell.

The talks at the Stormont complex east of Belfast mark the first

time an American has led peace-making efforts in Northern Ireland's quarter-century of conflict.

Patience may be his only weapon.

Mitchell is supposed to oversee consensus-building among nine parties — or 10, if the Irish Republican Army calls a new cease-fire. Without one, the IRA-allied Sinn Fein party will be barred from the talks.

All 10 groups won places at the talks in a May 30 vote. It saw support rise for the two most stubborn parties — Sinn Fein on the minority Catholic side, Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists on the majority Protestant side.

Alderdice's party got just 6.5 percent of votes, a distant fifth behind Sinn Fein's strong showing at 15.5 percent and Paisley's 18.8 percent for third.

The two established blocs, the Protestant Ulster Unionists and the Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP) on the Catholic side, both lost support.

"The peace process has produced greater polarization of the

community," said Alderdice. "People are demanding peace, certainly, but on their own exclusive terms."

The British and Irish governments agreed two decades ago about the general shape of a compromise, but they haven't been able to sell it.

Protestant "unionists" insist on maintaining Northern Ireland as a British state, while Catholic leaders want it unified with the rest of Ireland, independent since 1921.

The middle course was charted in 1973 when Britain established an assembly in Belfast composed of Protestants and Catholics sharing power and responsibility. It was to be accompanied by a cross-border council composed of lawmakers from the new Belfast assembly and the Irish parliament.

Protestant strikes and street violence killed the experiment. To Protestants, the formula represented too much change; to Catholics, too little. That same dilemma ground a series of negotiations to a halt, most recently among four parties in 1992.



Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams works at his party's headquarters in west Belfast yesterday. Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing, has been barred from participating in the multi-party peace talks which began yesterday until the IRA agrees to restore its cease-fire.

Yeltsin hunts Moslem votes in Mosque

MOSCOW (AP) — Stumping in Russia's Moslem republic of Tatarstan yesterday, President Boris Yeltsin visited a mosque construction site and hailed the religious freedoms that came with the 1991 demise of the Soviet Union.

His comments struck a veiled blow to his chief rival in next week's presidential elections, Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov, whose party enforced the Soviet Union's official policy of atheism and persecuted millions of church-goers.

"Nobody in the new Russia will ever be allowed to infringe upon religious convictions of citizens," the Interfax news agency quoted Yeltsin as saying during a rainy campaign trip to Kazan, Tatarstan's capital.

Pointing to the construction of the city's Kul-Sharif Mosque and the restoration of a Russian Orthodox Church nearby, he said, "Let them retain the symbol of equality between Orthodox Christianity and Islam in Tatarstan, and all of Russia."

The mosque received some federal funds for its construction.

Russia is home to as many as 20 million Moslems, but the Orthodox Church remains the dominant religion, and Yeltsin has heavily courted Orthodox leaders in his current campaign.

Yeltsin's comments came a day after Zyuganov reached out to the church in a campaign rally in Moscow. He quoted extensively from the Bible and called Yeltsin and fellow candidate Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's last president, messengers from the devil.

A new poll showed Yeltsin leading one-time front-runner Zyuganov by nearly 20 percentage points.

Yeltsin went into the race trailing Zyuganov, but has crafted a powerhouse campaign and seems to have pulled ahead in recent weeks. He is aided by his domination of the national media, lavish spending promises and heavy-handed "red scare" tactics.

Yeltsin has also taken advantage of his presidential powers and has ordered billions of dollars in wages, benefits, tax breaks and giveaways designed to woo voters.

"In Tatarstan yesterday, Yeltsin also hailed the republic's economic progress since signing an agreement in 1994 granting it more autonomy from Moscow. Tatarstan is an oil-rich republic of 3.8 million on the Volga River.

In a CNN-Moscow Times poll Saturday, 34 percent of 1,067 respondents said they'd vote for Yeltsin and 16 percent for Zyuganov. Some 17 percent said they were undecided.

Greenpeace activists protest Chinese nuclear testing

PROTESTERS with the environmental group Greenpeace demonstrated yesterday outside the Chinese Embassy in Paris to protest China's latest nuclear test.

About 15 demonstrators chanted and unfurled a banner that read, "No to the Chinese Nuclear Tests," protesting Saturday's underground blast at the Lop Nor site in the remote desert of northwestern Xinjiang province.

"This test is deplorable, particularly at a time when negotiations to obtain the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty are entering a critical phase," said Penelope Komites, head of Greenpeace France.

"China is dangerously compromising not the signature on this treaty and the progress toward global disarmament."

Ignoring warnings from Chinese officials, Greenpeace said its vessel MV Greenpeace left the Philippines for Shanghai to protest China's tests.

"International public opinion condemns the Chinese tests just as firmly as it condemned the French tests last year," said Jean-Luc Thierry, a Greenpeace France activist.

But in reality, the United States was alone among the world's five declared nuclear powers to publicly criticize China.

Britain and France gave a muted response to the blast, while Russia had made no comment by late yesterday.

"We urge China to refrain from further nuclear tests and to join in a global moratorium," Press Secretary Mike McCurry said in a statement issued promptly by the White House.

France, which sparked world-

wide protests with its final series of nuclear blasts in the South Pacific, urged yesterday that a test ban treaty be signed this autumn.

"The international community, including China, has committed itself to signing as early as this autumn a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty," a French foreign ministry spokesman said in a statement. "France calls once again on all states to respect that commitment."

China's blast at its Lop Nor test site in northwestern Xinjiang registered 5.7 on the Richter scale.

Britain gave a similarly guarded response, saying its main priority was the successful conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty soon.

Negotiations on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty are continuing in Geneva. Negotiators hope to agree on the accord by July, so it can be signed at the UN General Assembly in the fall.

200 more graves found in Liberian capital

MONROVIA — Another 200 graves have been discovered in the Liberian capital, possibly bringing to more than 520 the number of victims buried in shallow graves during factional fighting.

Dr. Isaac Moses, Liberia's chief pathologist, said yesterday a team of volunteers working under the World Health Organization, Red Cross, and Liberian health ministry discovered another 200 graves.

Moses said if bodies were uncovered in each of the graves, more than 520 bodies will have been exhumed for burial. He said 321 bodies had been reburied since he launched a campaign a week ago to give the bodies proper burials for public health reasons.

Moses said the campaign had not yet reached the Barclay Training Center, the military barracks at the center of the clashes that began April 6. When the government issued an arrest warrant on murder charges against rebel leader and ousted Cabinet minister Roosevelt

Johnson, his Ulimo-J forces seized the barracks and remain there. Johnson left the country but his Krahn forces, still hold the barracks.

Moses said at least 120 bodies had been buried on the beach near the training center.

A mediation team began talks in Liberia yesterday to try to relaunch the peace process to end the six-year-old civil war.

The commander of the ECOMOG West African peacekeeping force in Liberia, General John Injenger, told the Ghanaian-led delegation that armed factions had shown a willingness to abide by a 10-day-old ceasefire.

"However there are some sticky issues relating to guarantees of security for some faction leaders, so as to be demarcated as safe havens to which fighters must return and withdrawal of Krahn fighters from the Barclay Training Center (BTC), which need to be addressed," Injenger said.

Suu Kyi backs off from showdown with Burmese leaders

RANGOON (AP) — Pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi took a careful step back yesterday from a confrontation with the military regime, giving a bland, inoffensive speech to supporters to avoid violating draconian new laws.

Some 5,000 people braved the new decrees, which can land offenders in prison for up to 20 years, to gather outside the gates of Suu Kyi's home for her customary weekend lecture. The number was higher than usual, but half that of two weeks ago.

As on Saturday, when 5,000 people turned out for the first meeting since the new decrees were announced, authorities did not interfere.

Some Myanmaris afraid of being seen in the crowd yesterday slowly drove back and forth before Suu Kyi's home in a sign of support for those courageous enough to join the audience.

"I am not afraid of anything," said a woman in the crowd, speaking on condition of anonymity. "Many people who dare not come to this gathering are awed by the courage of these people."

The regime escalated its conflict with Suu Kyi on Friday by announcing a law curbing nearly all political activity, with prison sentences for anyone seeking to "undermine the stability of the state, peace and tranquility."

Killer monk gets Thai royal pardon

BANGKOK (AP) — A Buddhist monk who murdered a British tourist has expressed gratitude for the reduction of his death sentence to life imprisonment by King Bhumibol Adulyadej.

Yodchat Suapoo, 30, was one of 70,000 prisoners freed from jail or given a reduced sentence as part of yesterday's celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Bhumibol's accession to the throne.

Snapoo, who became a monk by hiding a prison conviction for rape, killed Johanne Masbeder, 23, of Wincle, Chester, last December when she visited a temple popular with tourists.

Masbeder was pushed down a steep drop in a cave on the temple compound, then beaten to death with a rock. Her purse and camera were stolen. Her

partly burned remains were discovered a month later. Yodchat confessed to the crime, was defrocked and narrowly escaped lynching.

The world's longest-reigning living monarch celebrated his 50th anniversary on Thailand's throne yesterday in traditional pomp contrasting with the explosive modernization of his realm.

Golden Jubilee ceremonies rooted in Buddhist ritual were broadcast live to the king's 60 million subjects.

The half-century reign is the first in 700 years of Thai monarchy, and public fervor has pushed aside troubling questions about the kingdom's future after him. Bhumibol, 68, underwent treatment for an unspecified heart condition last year.

A return to Jewish roots...

LITHUANIA LATVIA ESTONIA ST. PETERSBURG

A Jerusalem Post Travel Club tour planned by Geographical Tours / Neot Hakikar.

The Baltic States, before the Holocaust home to hundreds of thousands of Jews, is only now, after the demise of the Soviet Union, welcoming visitors.

With an English-speaking guide from Geographical Tours, we'll visit Vilna, the "Jerusalem of Lithuania" and tour its ghetto, synagogues, memorials, etc. Then to Kovna (Kaons) and Riga (visiting the old city, garden of statues, etc.) and the Ramboli Forest. Next on the itinerary is Tallin, capital of Estonia on the Gulf of Finland, with its port and old city. From there we'll continue to St. Petersburg (Leningrad), Russia's second largest city. We'll visit its museums, the Czar's Winter Palace, the world-famous Hermitage Museum, the Peter and Paul Fortress, the cruiser Aurora (where the 1917 revolution started), the Piskaryovskoye Cemetery, and stroll along the banks of the Nieva River and the renowned Nievsky Prospect. And that's not all.

We'll stay in first-class or quality tourist hotels, travel in air-conditioned buses, be accompanied by a full-time English-speaking guide from Geographical Tours in Israel, and a local guide where necessary. The price includes all this plus the round-trip flight, half-board accommodations (breakfast and evening meal) and admission to all sites. No Shabbat travel. Vegetarian menu available.

THE DATE:
Monday, August 26 - Tuesday, September 2, inclusive.

THE PRICE:
US\$ 1,825 per person in a double room.
US\$ 278 extra for a single room.

For reservations and further information:
The Jerusalem Post Travel Club
Tel. 02-6221679 Fax. 02-236161
Sun.-Thur., 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Ask for Nicole or Tova.

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Excursions at all ports of call - to the Jewish Quarter in Rhodes, the Acropolis, the Blue Grotto, Pompeii, the Italian and French Rivieras, and Cairo.

The dates: Thursday, August 28 - Sunday, Sept. 8
The cost: From \$2,060 per person, sharing a double upper outside cabin, all meals (including vegetarian), use of on-board facilities, entertainment, private daily lectures, and more.

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The Gabrieli Consort: Bach with bite

In its presentation by the Gabrieli Consort, conducted by Paul McCreesh, Bach's music is fresh, shining and lively. There is something uniquely fascinating about a choir of only 10 singers, where - unlike the overpowering sound masses of a large group - one can savor the qualities of every single voice and, at the same time, enjoy their harmonious blend.

The crown's jewel was the almost a-cappella motet *Jesu meine Freude*.

The joy of the *Freude* permeated the whole performance, and the inherent spiritual drama was expressed clearly and forcefully yet discreetly, with plasticity of articulation and perfectly clear

enunciation of the text. The more stately character of Cantata No. 65 "They all will come from Saba" and the Mass in F major was conveyed in all its impressiveness.

There was something captivating and sweet, not precisely ecclesiastical though, about Julia Gooding's clear and caressing soprano.

Charles Humphries' bright countertenor radiated an almost sensuous beauty.

Peter Harvey's dark, pleasant baritone with its melodiously polished coloraturas was a delight to hear, and tenor Andrew Murgatroyd's accurate intonation well captured the spirit of his short part.

What the period instruments may perhaps lose in brilliance and volume, they gain in intimacy and tone colors. Although unsuitably clear that organic life did indeed exist before Bach in Germany - and amazingly rich and varied it was.

Jerusalem Theater, June 2.

FOR THOSE who needed a reminder, the Swedish Ingemar Melcherson made it unmistakably clear that organic life did indeed exist before Bach in Germany - and amazingly rich and varied it was.

In its two quite distinct musical

worlds, the Catholic south engaged predominantly in formalistic intricacies, juxtaposing contrast and exploring the architectural possibilities of toccatas or passacaglias, as did Froberger, Kerll and Muffat.

The Protestant north, on the other hand, permitted itself a significantly larger degree of inventiveness, sophistication and even audaciousness, as displayed by Buxtehude, Kuhnau and George Böhm.

Buxtehude, in a toccata and a prelude and fugue, seems to enjoy unpredictability and he springs

one surprise after another. Kuhnau, apparently dramatically naive in his Biblical Sonata *The Fight of David and Goliath*, experiments with quite daring tonal combinations and even takes musical fun at the sacrosanct *Jesu Christi* are breathtaking in the abundance of their innovative ideas.

Melcherson highlighted these various qualities with remarkably good taste, focusing on them distinctly without becoming didactic or too ostentatious, selecting fascinating registrations, and display-

ing a formidable command of the instrument and the works' styles.

Dormition Abbey, June 4.

SONGS *Inner and Revealed*, a Theater Company Jerusalem production performed by Ruth Wieder-Magen and Victoria Hanna, seemed at first to be a homage to the human voice, or rather, to the distorted human voice.

From the highest shrieks to the lowest hums, hardly any form of cry, yell, shout, grunt or howl was left unexplored, to a degree bordering on the grotesque.

The immensely varied songs were thus rendered largely unintelligible. Only at a later stage did it gradually become clear that the

presentation was meant also as a homage to the inmates of Theresienstadt. A simple, melodious thly sounded, against this macabre background, more grotesque than the preceding vocal utterances.

This was also the point when the initial pretentiousness assumed, in retrospect, a human, touching and more profoundly disturbing quality on the emotional level.

On the professional, musical and theatrical levels, all these goings-on were meticulously stylized with nothing left to improvisation or any spontaneous inspiration, under the direction of Yoram Porath.

Noire Dame de Sion Church, Ein Kerem, June 5.

ISRAEL FESTIVAL URY EPPSTEIN

Werther's a voice, there's a way

HELEN KAYE

DON'T panic," they said reassuringly over the phone, "but what's your shoe size?"

It's 40, and the next thing she knew, mezzo-soprano Sara Fulgoni was on stage singing Prince Charming in a production of *Cinderella* at the Welsh National Opera in Cardiff.

So the understudy went on for the star, and in best showbiz style "there was an important critic in the audience the last night and I got a good review," says Fulgoni.

Her luck held, and the very same thing happened in the next production, Berlioz's *Beatrice and Benedict*. Anne Murray, who was to sing Beatrice, got sick, "and about 10 days before the first night they asked me to take over. There was a very heavy atmosphere because Anne was popular and people were looking forward to her coming. I wanted to shriek 'yes, yes, yes!' but instead I just sort of murmured, 'oh, fine.'"

She got "all the first-night press" on that one. Now, in her own right, she's singing Charlotte, the principal female role in Massenet's *Werther*. The New Israeli Opera production opened at the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center on Saturday.

Charlotte is named for a real-life woman Goethe fell in love with and, like the heroine of his celebrated 1774 novella, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, he married somebody else. Massenet stayed pretty close to the plot of the original for his opera, which pro-

mised in Vienna in 1892.

Werther (tenors Antonio Nagore and Claude Pelletier), a young, soulful and handsome poet, falls desperately in love with Charlotte. But Charlotte is engaged to Albert (baritone Henry Didier) and, in obedience to her mother's wishes, she marries him. Only then does Charlotte discover that it's Werther she really loves, but it's too late. Grief-stricken and inconsolable, Werther commits suicide.

"Charlotte develops," exclaims Fulgoni. "She starts as a young girl with big responsibilities - she has to take care of her brothers and sisters - but she's an innocent. Then she meets Werther, and the opera shows her rather devastating development into a woman, devastating because it happens in so short a time.

"At the end of the opera, you don't know what's going to happen to Charlotte. She might kill herself too, or get on with it. Our director is Jean-Claude Auvray, and he's leaving the end ambiguous. That's what is so great about this opera. It gets under your skin because Charlotte's relationships [with the men in her life] begs so many questions, of the what-if variety."

THIS IS Fulgoni's second contract with the NIO. She first performed as Fencina in Verdi's *Nabucco* this year, tabbed by NIO music director Gary Bertini after

she sang Hippolyta in Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the Ravenna Festival.

She never even intended to become a singer. She wanted to be an actress. Even now "the acting still comes first, always," but theater was never on the cards because her parents objected. Music was all right though.

Fulgoni was born and raised in London. Her English mother is an executive secretary. Her father is Italian-born, and imports gourmet desserts. Not that there are any visible calories on Fulgoni. At 1.80m, she has dark brown hair flowing to the middle of her back and guileless hazel eyes. And she's as mellow and laid-back as any Californian, on the outside that is.

As a child she studied piano and flute, and sang in choirs. Off to study music at university, she discovered that voice was her best subject. Her first taste of opera, however, "seemed very odd, but by the end of the third year I'd got the hang of it."

In 1993 she graduated from the Royal Northern College of Music, won the second prize at the very prestigious Kathleen Ferrier awards and made her professional debut (another bit of luck), under Giuseppe Sinopoli, singing the third maid in Strauss's *Elektra*.

The role, she says "is five minutes of hell because it's very difficult musically and vocally." Sinopoli invited her to repeat the role at La Scala and she has played a tiny part in *Parsifal*



Sara Fulgoni plays Charlotte, the real-life woman Goethe fell in love with, and Antonio Nagore plays the title character in the Massenet version of 'Werther.'

under his baton, "but the Wagner repertory that he usually does is too heavy for me."

Only three years out of school and with good credentials already, Fulgoni "is still trying to find my repertory. I think the French rep is something I ought to be looking at. I'm going to sing my first Carmen at the Welsh National Opera later this year. I did my first Monteverdi, Penelope in *The*

Return of Ulysses, at Geneva, and I'd like to explore the baroque more."

She steering clear "until I'm ready" of what she calls the "big girl" roles, the Verdis and the Wagners, even though she loves Wagner. She sang in the choir at Bayreuth for three summers, "and that's when I woke up to the idea, that, gosh, this is a wonderful profession."

Melodious 'Mockingbird'

THEATER REVIEW HELEN KAYE

To Kill a Mockingbird by the Moore County Heritage Museum. Director Kathy McCoy. Jerusalem Khan, June 4-6

Artists: Finch - Everett Price
Scout Finch - Stewart Coxwell
Jem Finch - Jared Handley
Tom Robinson - Charles McCorvey

INTEGRITY is the core of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Harper Lee's famed and only novel about one principled man's stand against bigotry and racial injustice in the deep South.

Christopher Sergel's dramatization remains true to the richly peopled original, which is set in the fictional Southern town of Maycomb in 1935. Tom Robinson, a black, is accused of raping a white woman and the court appoints Atticus Finch to defend him.

In a powerful courtroom scene, Finch proves Robinson innocent, but the all-white, all-male jury convicts him anyway.

Finch's public persona is a reflection of the private man, a widower with two children to raise.

He treats Scout and Jem with the same loving courtesy and respect he accords to all, black or white, rich or poor. Finch is a man who practices what he preaches.

Wisely, director Kathy McCoy

has imposed nothing on the play, letting the characters and the situations tell the story.

Act I, representing various Maycomb front porches, was in the Khan courtyard. Act II, the trial, was onstage.

If theater is a passion and a play, the actors provided the passion. To the smallest role, they played their parts with intelligence and heart.

Stewart Coxwell was endearingly coltish as Scout, a girl with one foot leaving childhood. Jared Handley handled the role of Jem with authority and warmth. Joey Grabbill invested poor little rich boy Dill with the proper underlying wistfulness.

Claire McKinley as Mayella Ewell, the girl Robinson has supposedly raped, deserves a special bouquet for her evocative body language, as does Bruce Ulmer, who played her revolting father, Bob.

Charles McCorvey created an utterly believable Robinson and Ray Sasser made a compelling judge.

But Finch is the motor of the play and Everett Price was a finely tuned, firmly compassionate Finch, a man to whom one listened.

A jury of audience members contributed true authenticity.

Ticket rush alert!

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

If you want to spend your summer listening to chamber music in Upper Galilee, then you have to rise very early this Friday.

Because if past trends are repeated, most tickets for the Voice of Music Chamber Music Festival in Kfar Blum, taking place this year from July 26 to August 3, will vanish within a few hours.

Avid music buffs always tell stories about standing in line from 5 a.m. to get the coveted tickets.

And although last year's festival was not as successful with the general public, the coming festival's program seems to cater to the common denominator of our summer music lovers.

This coming festival features 19 concerts, all organized by artistic director Avi Hanani, who is also the head of the Voice of Music radio network.

The program features music by Bach, Brahms and Schubert in the opening concert, as well as compositions by Liszt, Vivaldi, Schubert, Dvorak, Berlioz, Mozart, Beethoven and many other beloved composers.

The less-familiar names are on the roster too, but in a limited way. The names of musicians were not even mentioned in the initial information handed by the festival.

Tickets go on sale this Friday in major ticket agencies in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem and Kiryat Shmona. Those who do manage to obtain tickets should reserve their accommodations very soon, as lodgings in the area are heavily booked during the nine days of the festival.

The best time to visit Kfar Blum this summer is the final weekend (August 2-3), in which five different programs will be presented.

Dancing to a new tune

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

AT 25, Petah Tikva-born Yivral Pick suddenly realized he is allowed to do many things he was afraid to do in the past.

The former Batsheva Dance Company member has left Israel, settled, at least for now in Finland, and even choreographed his first own work, a solo for himself titled *Mutar* ("Permissible"). There is more than obvious symbolism in the name, let alone the feeling and the work.

Pick explains that "this is the first time I actually created something of my own. It is very modest and tiny, only six minutes long, but I made it and I then talked about it with Ohad [Naharin, Batsheva artistic director with whom Pick is closely associated]."

Naharin suggested that Pick feature his first opus in the current program of short works presented by the Batsheva Ensemble. "I really wanted to come to Israel, so this was a great opportunity," Pick said, adding that he believes "every dancer should try and choreograph at least once just to find out how difficult it is to create and how our life as dancers is actually quite simple when all the artistic decisions are made for us. Moreover, I always knew I actually wanted to do something, to create, and I enjoyed it very much, every minute of it. But you must realize that working with yourself alone in the studio is quite an unusual sensation which I was not used to."

After finishing his army service, Pick joined Naharin's Batsheva Dance Company, where he danced almost five years - at the end of which he decided the time has come to leave the company "and

try a different framework way of creation."

Pick joined dancer-choreographer Tero Saarinen in Helsinki and the two have their own program which they tour in Finland and in some European festivals.

Pick was also engaged by both the Netherlands Dans Theater and the Geneva Ballet to stage some of Naharin's works for them, such as *Black Milk* and *Arbus*, all of which he has danced in Batsheva. "I'm very much linked to Ohad and his work, and I love his works, so it was really great to do that."

Pick has no regrets about leaving Batsheva. "I wanted to change my way of life. It's not easy being a freelancer and especially abroad, but at the moment I really enjoy it. It was definitely the right step at the right moment in time. And no, I do not miss Israel. Obviously, I do miss my friends, but I think it's important for every Israeli to see himself from the outside."

Pick very much enjoys living in Helsinki, although he is not sure if it will remain his home for next year or whether he will move to a different European city. "Helsinki is a beautiful place but very different. It's Europe but not the classic Europe. There is still something very authentic about the place; it's not the rich lush decadent Europe. On the other hand, people there are very aggressive and they drink a lot, yet at the same time they are most sincere."

Pick's new work, *Mutar*, can be seen at the Suzanne Dellal Center in Tel Aviv, in tandem with quite a few other short works by members of the Batsheva Ensemble, tonight, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday and June 19.

Festive Druse

ETNIC is big this year, but to the folks who live around Merom Hagalil in eastern Galilee, the events of the Nigunim festival (August 6-8) just show the way they live.

The festival opens at the Druse village of Ein el-Asad with presentations of music, dancing and sketches by Druse from all over the country plus all kinds of great food. The same evening features *Livnat Kala*, different traditional wedding ceremonies, in the Baram National Park.

There'll also be fine food at the Circassian village of Ribaniya on August 8 when visitors are invited to enjoy the "Circassian Experience" with local groups and visitors from Jordan and the Caucasus. "A Mediterranean Evening" features cheeses and wine, near the ancient synagogue of Bazzam. Tickets are on sale from NIS 35 to NIS 50. Info: (06) 691-9888/7.

Helen Kaye

Another drag queen scheme

ALL MEN ARE LIARS

Written and directed by Gerard Lee. Hebrew title: *Kol Hagayim Shatruim*. 90 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Personal guidance suggested.

Mick - David Price
Angela - Tom Pearson
Barry - John Jarratt
Irene - Carmeen Tanti

DESPITE the castrating sound of its title, *All Men Are Liars* is actually a very sweet film, a hip modern fairy tale that centers on the visit of an all-girl rock band to rugged Australian sugarcane country.

The plot is sheer dandelion puff, wispy with accident, misunderstanding and coincidence. But first-time director Gerard Lee (who also wrote the script) manages to fill the actions of his oddball people with so much gentle good will that a bit of story-line predictability doesn't really matter. Even the crudest characters in the film have some small quirk to recommend them. And the movie has a funny, colorful look that's in keeping with its simple outline.

A conductor who puts the music first

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

THROUGH its concert featured a soloist, pianist Ignaz Solzhenitsyn in Mozart's piano concerto No. 23, K.488, the real and only star of the evening was conductor Herbert Blomstedt.

Opening the evening with Sibelius's epic *En Saga*, Blomstedt immediately captured our attention and interest. Listening to this magnificent music, beautifully interpreted by Blomstedt, one wonders why Sibelius is such a rarity on IPO programs and why his tone poems are completely absent.

The northern giant should at last be accepted by the IPO as part of the romantic standard repertoire.

En Saga was followed by the concerto, which revealed Solzhenitsyn as an empty vessel, at least as a pianist, who seems totally immune to Mozart's charms. Besides his tone - which we liked - because it reminded us of the tone of the Hammerflügel, Solzhenitsyn had nothing to say and even the divine second movement left him completely untouched.

Nevertheless, the concerto could be enjoyed, at least partly, due to Blomstedt's orchestra part. He created a pure sound, finely articulated

phrases, a transparent texture through which one could look through and a really faultless intonation in all instruments.

To sum up, one could perhaps say that Blomstedt's sound and phrasing were Mozartian in their very essence. Another highlight of the concert was Beethoven's *Seventh*. One could perhaps not define the performance as "great" or overwhelming, but it was a sound and

sincere performance in which Blomstedt, so to speak, put the music first. He is an honest conductor who regards himself, in the first place, an intermediary between the composer and the listener.

He has neither an inflated ego, as many conductors have, nor does he need any kind of extravaganza to impress. What impresses in his performances is the clear conception, the continuity of flow and the meticulous adherence to the text.

Tel Aviv, Merom Auditorium, June 3.

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Different reactions to Netanyahu

THE hyper-activity among Arab leaders following Binyamin Netanyahu's election victory has created an impression of universal Arab disappointment and alarm. Seemingly united in their concern for the fate of the Palestinians, the PLO and the Arab regimes (with the notable exception of Jordan) have joined in voicing expressions of dismay. They have also threatened renewed violence unless the negotiations produce a Palestinian state — with its capital in Jerusalem — as well as a complete Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 lines on all fronts.

The Arabs' presumption that Israel would withdraw to the 1967 lines and compromise over Jerusalem is a measure of their heightened expectations. Despite the Labor government's solemn pledges never to return to the pre-Six Day War lines, all Arab rulers have assumed that had Prime Minister Shimon Peres been elected, this is precisely what he would have done.

The trouble with such expectations is that they are bound to be dashed sooner or later, either because Israel — regardless of who the prime minister is — cannot satisfy all of them, or because the police state which replaces the

"occupier" tends to turn dreams of independence into nightmares.

That Palestinian rule in Gaza and the Arab towns of Judea and Samaria has done much to disabuse Palestinians of their dreams is no secret. But only the display of joy at Netanyahu's victory in Arab towns can betray the extent of their disappointment with "liberation." Palestinian human rights activist Bassam Eid, himself a victim of kidnapping and detention by the Palestinian Police, has told the daily *Mu'ariv*, "The joy [at Netanyahu's victory] is really great in the territories. In Nablus and other places they are happy that the Palestinian Authority which they hate so much has been shafted. In Hebron and Jerusalem there is a feeling they have been rescued from Arafat's rule."

As the Arab dictatorships mobilize against the Netanyahu government even before it takes office, the democracies led by the US may want to reconsider their unquestioning support for Arab demands. If nothing else, the rising resentment of the PA among the Palestinian people, and the obvious delight at Netanyahu's victory in the Hashemite court — the only Arab rulers truly progressing toward democracy — should give the democracies pause.

Bleak landscape

WHILE the outcome of next week's Russian election remains anyone's guess, the campaign itself has been providing an extraordinary picture of post-Communist Russia and those who would lead it. At the head of the list of "remarkable phenomena" stands President Boris Yeltsin himself. Here is a man who only six months ago was being written off as old, sick, and showing the ravages of a lifelong affair with the vodka bottle — although his age, 65, should be unremarkable for a healthy politician.

Yet Yeltsin has come bouncing out of treatment for a heart attack into a grueling campaign across the towns and villages of his vast country. If the embryonic opinion polls are any indication — the tired and supposedly finished leader has pulled up from having some five percentage points of support from his lethargic people to a 20 point lead this weekend over his nearest challenger, Gennady Zyuganov.

It is difficult these days to know what to take seriously in Russia. The United States and the West in general still believe that Russia remains an important power, whose opinions count in the councils of the world. The view of many Russians themselves would seem less enthusiastic than the positive thinkers' chant of "democracy rules, all is wonderful." A prominent Russian emigre who went back on a three-month research visit recently seemed startled when this newspaper asked him if he would consider living permanently in Russia today. "Good God," he said, "certainly not! It's not a state, it's a shambles."

Perhaps more significant than the suspiciously rising opinion polls in favor of the man in

charge of the state apparatus is a little-noticed phenomenon — the near universal Russian hatred for Mikhail Gorbachev, the man who started it all. Crossing the country on a sad and pathetic little candidacy for his old job, Gorbachev — revered on Western lecture circuits, despised at home — is, if anything, more unpopular than before he started his campaign.

The totally different images of Gorbachev at home and abroad are a startling mirror of the schizophrenic, fractured images that abound of Russia itself. The West loves Gorbachev for his magnificent leap in the dark and his deconstruction of the Soviet Union. Russians utterly despise him for the same reasons. Russia appears to be a great power today only because it is stuck with nuclear arms it can scarcely control, and the West treats it with the cautious, friendly respect one might grant a drunk with a hand grenade. But the once-feared army cannot put down the ragtag rebels of Chechnya, and it is the economic prowess of the Russian mafia the world marvels at, not that of Yeltsin's government.

Inevitably, there is a widespread conspiracy theory, exploited by the Communists, that the collapse of Russian society was engineered by a Western plot. The sad truth about Russia may be that its inability to change is what kept it in the Communist dungeons for 70 years after the slavery of the czars. The signs of Moscow's slow regression to old foreign policy animosities and familiar Third World friendships may be an indication that it is simply this innate fear of change the world may have to be wary of — no matter who wins, or appears to win, in next week's elections.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE PRICE IS TOO HIGH

Sir, — This is written to the many Israelis who are sick of war and sick of watching their sons die in endless battles. The overriding desire for peace is understood and accepted.

However, when the process is "peace with Syria" at the cost of giving up the Golan, one must have a sense of history and some appreciation of military realities. Were Israel to give up the Golan today, it would be faced at this moment with no grave threat. Israel has military preponderance over its Arab neighbors, and the friendship and support of America.

But what of the future? Israel is a nation of five million people surrounded by 100 million Moslems who for the last 1,300 years have shown that they will not tolerate non-Moslem states in their area. It took 350 years for them to drive out the Crusaders, but they did drive them out.

How will Israel defend itself in the future, when the military balance may change and foreign powers are no longer friendly? How will Israel defend northern Galilee with its enemies controlling not only the high ground, but starting hostilities literally feet from Israel's major source of water? If Israel gives up the Golan, Arafat will have succeeded in his vow to destroy Israel. It may take 50 or 100 years, but the seeds of certain destruction will have been planted. If the Golan is the price of "peace" with Syria, it simply is too high. JOSEPH R. ABRAHAMSON, M.D. San Diego, California.

LET HER GO

Sir, — What a foolish woman is Leah Rabin. By a brutally tragic event, she was thrust into the public arena. She was no ordinary widow. She was Israel's "second lady" and her husband's assassination gave her a unique opportunity to heal the divisions in our society. In spite of numbing grief, she could have spoken in terms of reconciliation. Had she done so and conducted herself in a modest and humane manner, she could have become the unrecognized

SEAL PUPS

Sir, — It was with disgust and dismay that I read of Norway's lifting its six-year ban on the slaughter of baby seals, as well as its resumption of whale hunting (May 19). You reported that this season, 17,000 seal pups were slaughtered (in the presence of their traumatized mothers) for their fur. It is well known that the manner in which they are killed is particularly painful and cruel — clubbing over the head

Jerusalem.

OSCAR DAVIES

Jerusalem.

How terribly ironic that Norway sponsors the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize; how terrible that this country spearheads the multinational "peacekeeping" presence in Hebron. Such bloody hands regarding God's innocent and beautiful creatures, point their finger at Israel.

SHOSHANA WEINSTEIN Kfir Adumim.

ABUSE VICTIM

Sir, — Abuse victim Shabar Hadad will serve a 10-year prison sentence for killing a father who inflicted upon him a lifetime of abuse. Israeli justices concurred in this sentence "to discourage other abused children from taking the law into their own hands" (May 23).

This message, sent by the justices in all their wisdom to sons who have spent a lifetime suffering assault and battery at the hands of an abusive parent, sends another message to all abusive fathers: It's OK, it's your right, you can do it and get away with doing it. The message is sent to guarantee the continued unabated cruelty.

Justice in Hadad's case might have been served with the intervention of a social-service agency fully committed to stopping the abuse. But the police simply winked at the father's acts and did nothing. Failing that protection of the law, the victims were left to fend for themselves. Now the hapless son receives the final blow from those whose judgment disregards that society which failed him. I hope that the judgment against Hadad can be reversed so that a message can be sent to save future generations from the mental and physical anguish he was forced to suffer.

Jerusalem.

PHYLLIS GLAZERMAN Newton, Massachusetts.

IMPRESSED

Sir, — We are repeatedly impressed by the way Jonathan Blasz takes what we all witness but ignore, like the exchange of roles of the yeshiva students with the roles of the secular pioneers ("Virtual exchange of scripts," May 23) and points out their significance and spirituality. The subject makes great discussion material.

DEVORAH JACOBS Jerusalem.

ARE YOU SURE THESE WERE NOT TAKEN BY ISRAELI POLLSTERS?



ILEG © 96

Hosannas, not horror

THE US Jewish community has long accepted that issues of peace and security facing Israel should be decided by the people of Israel, and that the country's democratically elected government should be supported. Will that support hold in the case of the government led by the leader of the former opposition, Benjamin Netanyahu? I believe it will.

Both the narrow decision in the personal vote for prime minister and the broader vote for Knesset representation reflected a demand for change.

By the slimmest of margins, a majority of all citizens, including a massive Arab turnout for Shimon Peres, rejected the architect of Oslo in favor of his opponent, who pledged to respect agreements concluded by the previous government provided they are respected by both parties, but disagreed with the pace and apparent direction of the negotiations.

Dissatisfaction with the Labor government becomes clearer when only the Jewish vote is counted: There is a clear majority of 55-45 percent in Netanyahu's favor.

Oslo 2 was approved by the narrowest possible Knesset majority made possible only by the votes of Arab members over the opposition of a majority of Jewish legislators. Yet Prime Minister Rabin demanded and got respect for the process.

A democratic system reflects a process of continuous change. Leaders who do not respect and reflect the will of the people and make course corrections to reflect that will may find themselves deprived of the power to lead.

Yitzhak Rabin, and later Peres, did not make the necessary course corrections, despite many clear signals from their constituents that popular opinion was sharply divided.

A civil, orderly, nonviolent change of government ought to be celebrated, not feared or reviled.

And a society like Israel that can effect such change while facing existential issues, and while harboring in its midst those who openly demand rights that, if granted, would cause massive historical, geographical, political and security upheaval, deserves

KENNETH J. BIALKIN

hosannas of praise and wonderment, not derision and suspicion.

How many societies in today's world would continue to fulfill the democratic ideal under such pressures as Israel faces?

With the election over, perhaps truth and fairness can return to the political debate.

Was there, for example, ever in Israel a party which favored peace and one that opposed it? Of course not — but it was made to seem so by many who should have recognized demagoguery when they saw or practiced it.

Was it ever the case that doubt and dissent over Oslo 1 and 2 unmasked those who doubted or dissented as enemies of peace? Of course not, but so it was made to appear.

America and its Jews should celebrate the miracle that is Israeli democracy

And, of course, by the same token it was wrong to accuse those who advocated the Oslo agreements of being traitors, or of recklessly disregarding the national interest.

NO ONE can really know how the previous government would have dealt with Arab demands for more control in the West Bank, a presence in or a part of Jerusalem, demands for statehood, border revisions, the Golan, control over water resources, or the employment of more Arab workers. No one knows how it would have continued to deal with the terror and violence that remain an ever-present risk.

The new government faces the same daunting issues the old one would have been forced to confront had it continued in power — the issues don't grow any simpler.

But a government draws strength and vigor from the support of its citizens. A government

which has that support is far better equipped to deal with thorny issues than one whose legitimacy is challenged.

Israel will be going into negotiations better equipped with a government which enjoys broader support for its policies from as many parts of the community as possible.

It can now be said again (for a while it was politically incorrect) that the peace process did not begin in Oslo in September 1993. It has been continuing for many years, perhaps beginning with president Sadat's visit to Jerusalem almost 20 years ago. Since then there have been advances and retreats.

Israel's acceptance by the Arab world is growing steadily. Reaction in the Arab world and the international community to Oslo has been to Israel's great benefit, but there is no reason to believe that the election results, even if they bring important policy changes, will reverse the positive developments.

Fears that the economic boom Israel has recently enjoyed will be harmed are also exaggerated and misdirected.

Israel's gross domestic product has increased by more than 6% per year since 1990 — except for 1993, when it was 3.4% — long before Oslo. While political events have impacted favorably on trade and investment, economists point to many other factors, including the Russian immigration and success in science and technology as major elements of Israel's economic picture.

Of greater concern economically are some of the real problems the new government will face: fear of inflation, budget deficits, trade deficits, exhaustion of the US loan guarantees, the slow rate of privatization, and the growing social needs and demands of the population.

What the American people and the Jewish community should, and will, do is celebrate the miracle of democracy that is Israel, embrace its new leadership, and offer sincere support and friendship.

The writer is chairman of The America-Israel Friendship League.

Bibi needs nerves of iron

THE dilemmas Prime Minister-elect Binyamin Netanyahu faces are a function of public expectations.

Netanyahu was supported by a majority of Israeli voters. But this majority is made up of a very large number of different groups, and the policies they expect from him are frequently contradictory. The pure ideologists on the right expect Netanyahu to stop the Oslo process, even to go back on some of the obligations undertaken by the previous government in the agreements reached with the Palestinians. They also expect acceleration in developing Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to ensure that the areas to which Oslo 2 applies remain isolated.

Then there are those who voted for Netanyahu who support the peace process, but mistrusted outgoing Prime Minister Shimon Peres and felt that Labor's negotiators were going too fast and giving up too much. They expect real progress in the negotiations with the Palestinians and Syria.

These voters know what Menachem Begin paid, for peace with Egypt, and they expect Netanyahu to make at least some territorial concessions on the Palestinian and Syrian fronts.

Many people voted for Netanyahu because they felt that under Labor rule their personal security had gone down the drain. Here Netanyahu has a different dilemma: How is he to avoid redrawing the Green Line while, at the same time, keeping poten-

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

tial terrorists out of the areas where 97 percent of Israelis live?

And how can he prevent a massive increase in the number of young Palestinian candidates for suicide bombings, even though his victory has, at least temporarily, dashed the hopes of the 2.5 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip for a state of their own?

The religious parties, most of whose supporters voted for Netanyahu, expect a return to the

expect him not to make any concessions on matters of principle to the religious parties.

WHAT IS clear is that Netanyahu cannot meet all these expectations. And his real dilemma? If he loses the support of any of these groups, his chances of being re-elected next time around won't amount to much.

He must also contend with public confusion, which showed in the results of a poll published in *Yedioth Aharonot* last Friday.

The highest percentage of those polled (27 percent) felt that Ehud Barak was the most suitable candidate for defense minister, while Yitzhak Mordechai came second with 14 percent, and Ariel Sharon third with 10 percent.

There were similar answers to who would be most suitable as finance minister. Avraham Shohat was supported by 24 percent, Dan Meridor by 13 percent, and Sharon by 7 percent.

Not surprisingly, the poll also indicated that a majority in Israel (54 percent) wants a national unity government.

However, were Netanyahu to ask those who voted for him: 80-90 percent of them would probably reject the idea out of hand, and would accuse him of treachery were he to consider it seriously.

What Netanyahu needs most of all, it seems, is steady nerves — and a formula to show him how to square a circle.

The writer is a political scientist.

Ad infinitum

MARK L. LEVISON

DAVAR, once a dignified voice of the Labor wing, breathed its last gasp as the Labor Party was going broke with grandiose TV ads.

No, that the newspapers could have survived, or saved Labor. As Marshall McLuhan said, paraphrasing himself: "The medium is the message." And today's is indeed the age of television.

It isn't that the pros and the amateurs advised who are busy today, so certain they could have done better, were what Labor needed.

What Labor needed was the ring of heartfelt commitment, something that cannot be bought. Among its worst ads was the Peres youth love-in, where every 1,000 shekels of budget was another 1,000 shekels of off-putting in-your-face phoniness.

What Labor needs — what the parties all need — is a crew of sincere believers who are also media men; people who live in the medium, rather than those who burst forth out of smoke-filled rooms once a term for an untrained attempt at persuasion.

But on TV, one short season per term is all the politics get, so-wisely.

From now on, it's the interviewee's chair again. From the premier on down, any Israeli politician with a message to bring to the people can't simply deliver a pitch; he has got to converse.

If he's lucky, he faces a single polite interviewer. Unlucky? He gets a panel that hectors and interrupts. There's too much power in the hands of the uneducated TV producers.

Now I was as shocked as the next Israeli that evening many years ago when instead of the nine o'clock news, we got finance minister Yoram Azisev, who had seized the airwaves, by eminent domain to explain his economics straight to the camera.

No government here has since dared repeat that play.

But back then we had only one channel; to appropriate that was to hijack the public's attention.

Today we have more than one choice — so what's wrong if, among all the announcements, we have some political ads as well?

I SUGGEST that the ads, on five airways, should continue throughout the Knesset's term.

With a permanent place on the TV schedule, the political parties could find their voice — the voice that once came from politically committed newspapers. The parties could build up a dedicated team of communica-

Why shouldn't the parties go on airing their views on TV even though the elections are over?

tors who know — from long steady, experience — what they're doing.

Does an ad that features a bar-room babe waving liquor bottles around do more good or more harm to the Labor Party's image? What's the right balance between long ads and short ads? Is humor effective, or does it only distract?

Party publicists could make their experiments and assessments without last-minute election-season pressure to befuddle them.

Meanwhile, the people could get to understand the parties better.

Every election has its shot-in-the-dark parties whose team and policies are little known, even to those who support them. Naturally some small parties are born only when elections are impending. But others, like the pensioners and the occasionally-seen women's party, have a continuing raison d'etre.

With a continued opportunity to air their views they could play a constructive role even if they never do reach the Knesset.

If the parties really want to speak to us seriously, they would have time to do so. And if we really want to be spoken to seriously, they would have time to find out.

The way the government tilts the campaigning process in favor of the incumbent parties — by allotting airtime in proportion to Knesset seats held, then confiscating the money deposited by parties that fail to win a seat — might not be so prejudicial if there was plenty of time to share around.

Back when Israel had more newspapers than you could count, they were the natural vehicle for free and open political dialogue. Now the newspapers are few, but we have more TV channels than we can count.

What are we waiting for? The writer is a Herzliya-based freelancer.

02-315666

Fly Me

Why No Airline Brags, 'We're the Safest'

By ADAM BRYANT

AS Americans step onto planes for their summer vacations, the ValuJet crash last month continues to stir deep-rooted fears and questions. Which airlines are safest? Why don't Federal aviation officials tell the public what they know? As often as those officials try to explain that crashes are unpredictable occurrences, travelers insist they want to know the relative safety of different airlines. Part of the problem lies in the ambiguity of the word "safe." Top Government aviation officials have used the term over and over to describe ValuJet, and all other U.S. airlines. Somehow, though, to the public, which has been bombarded with images of salvage crews in the Everglades and reports of the Federal Aviation Administration's long-standing concerns about ValuJet, the word "safe" sounds off-key.

Don't Leave Home

But what is safe? Is boarding a metal tube that hurtles through the air at hundreds of miles an hour ever safe? Better, perhaps, never to leave home. But isn't flying supposed to be safer than driving across the country or across town? Considering the number of people who die in airplane crashes, the answer is yes. United States airlines are so safe now that accidents are largely random events. The average passenger would have to take a flight every day for thousands of years before he would be in a plane crash. But in the age of sound bites, aviation officials often do not have the time to make this point. Instead, they often oversimplify the issue by talking about "one level of safety" and their drive for "zero accidents." These phrases make consumers comfortable most of the time but highly skeptical after a crash. Accidents make them wonder if there are asterisks after these catchy phrases but no fine print for the public to read.

Experts can say that certain regions of the world are more dangerous than others for air travel, partly because of systemic problems like antiquated radar equipment and inadequate training. But, despite the bountiful statistics on U.S. airlines and endless attempts to slice the numbers every which way, a reliable index for predicting crashes has proved elusive. "There is no such animal," said Ed Perkins, the editor of the Consumer Reports Travel Letter. "I can't sit here at my desk and tell you that airline A is safer than airline B."



With a ValuJet not far from their minds, people at La Guardia Airport's main terminal wait to see what the sky brings.

Over Muhammad/The New York Times

If there were a way to predict, the airlines would no doubt use it in their marketing, as Volvo regularly touts the safety of its cars. Some airlines often hint in their advertisements that they are safer than their competitors, but no airline explicitly brags about its record. One reason is that they know that the kind of human error that appears to have led to the ValuJet crash — a mistake in labeling

a box of hazardous oxygen generators that were put on board flight 592 — could easily befall any one of them. The F.A.A.'s stock response to the hundreds of calls from concerned consumers has been that if an airline is flying in the United States, the agency considers it safe. But travelers' suspicions that a fuller answer exists were confirmed when Internal F.A.A.

lists ranking airlines' safety records were first obtained by The Chicago Tribune and later released by the agency to the rest of the press. Portions of them were published widely, including in The New York Times. The lists drew aside the curtain, giving the public a glimpse of what Federal regulators had known but not shared. The rankings appeared to resonate with

accuracy, showing that even before the crash in the Everglades, ValuJet had one of the worst safety records. For a moment, it seemed that airline crashes were predictable, after all. Alas, no. Aviation experts say that trying to summarize the safety of different United States

Continued on Page 2

The New Bob Dole

Bob Dole learns to be an ex-majority leader.

By Richard L. Berke

2

When Victims Recant Prosecutors develop strategy for handling battered women.

By Adam Nossiter

3

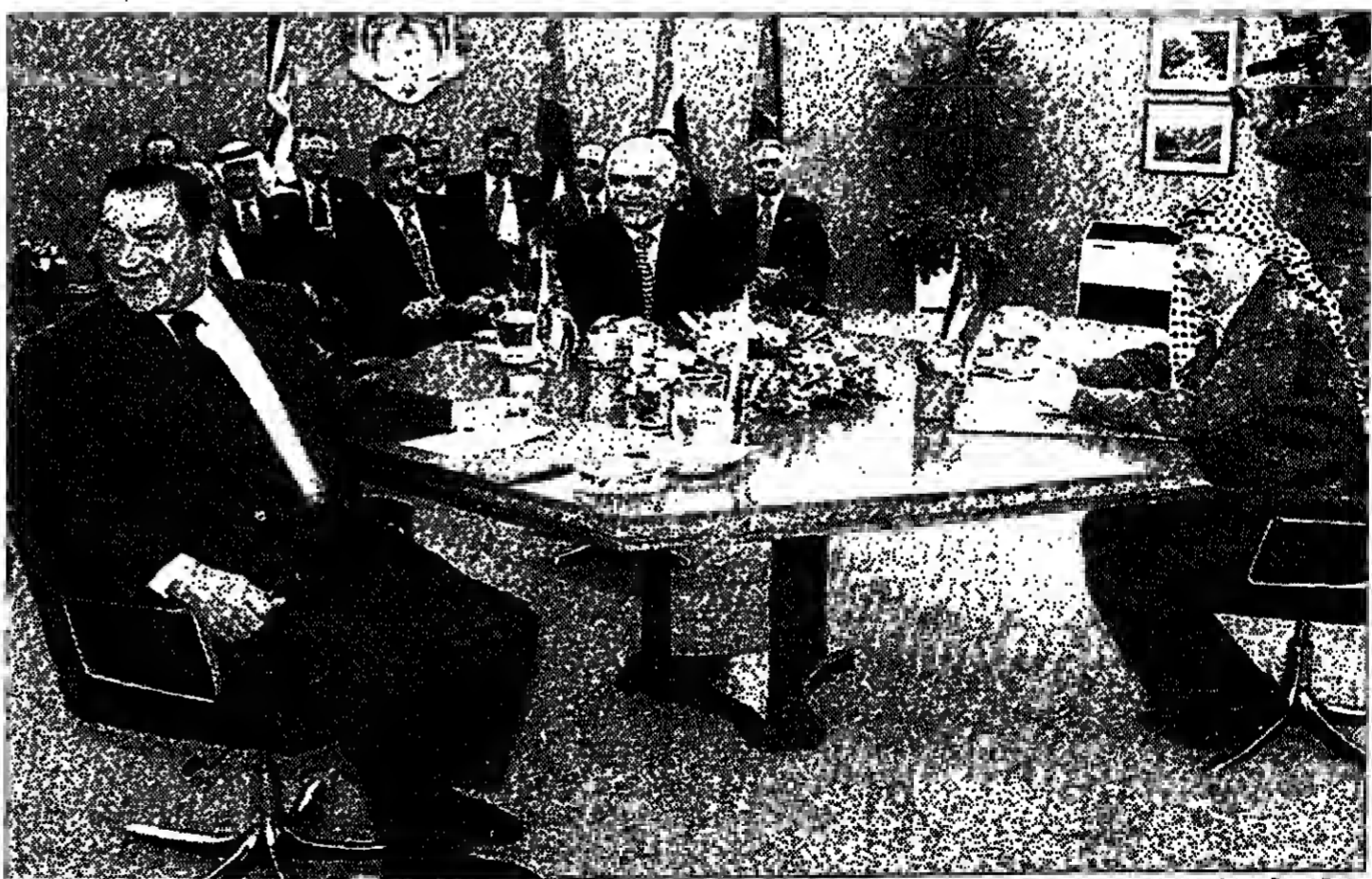
A More Jewish State A new government promises to change life in Israel.

By Judith Miller

4

Netanyahu's World

Hold the Peace; Keep the Process



In Aqaba, Jordan, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, King Hussein of Jordan and Yasir Arafat met to discuss the Israeli elections.

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

JERUSALEM In all the questioning about what Prime Minister-elect Benjamin Netanyahu intends to do about peace with the Arabs, probably the simplest approach is to take him at face value.

For all the campaign slogans and spin, both he and the Likud party have been consistent on the basics: Yes to continuing negotiations with the Palestinians and the Syrians. Yes to improving relations with Egypt, Jordan and other Arab states. No to a Palestinian state. No to any division of Jerusalem. No to giving up the Golan Heights. Add to this an intention to use the army bullishly against terrorism, and a

readiness to build new Jewish settlements in the West Bank, and there you have it.

Not surprisingly, these elements figure prominently in a draft program for the new government made available to the daily Maariv last week. Though not yet adopted, the program offers a fairly straightforward summary of what the Likud and Mr. Netanyahu have been saying all along.

Based on this, Mr. Netanyahu's approach to the peace process is likely to follow the script written by President Hafez al-Assad of Syria — hold off the peace, but hang on to the process. That is what Mr. Assad has been doing for several years now, receiving the United States Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, at every opportunity and sitting down to one negotiating table after another, but agreeing to nothing.

What this means in Mr. Netanyahu's case is that he will not stop negotiating as long as others are willing to talk, but that there is little likelihood now of a peace agreement with Syria or the Palestinians.

On the Syrian track, the suspension of negotiations arouses little concern in Israel, where the general feeling is that Mr. Assad had his chance to get his Golan back and missed it. Chances are the Syrian President will not close the door to limited contacts, like joining the committee that is supposed to monitor the latest arrangements in south Lebanon, if only to keep the Americans from turning their backs on him.

The larger question is how Mr. Netanyahu will deal with the Palestinians, given that he

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Ideas & Trends

Limitations of Statues In the Light of Today

By MICHAEL J. YBARRA

ON June 14, 1846, a small band of American adventurers declared California a republic, just before the United States gobbled it up, along with the northern half of Mexico as the spoils of its quick war with its southern neighbor. A hundred years later the centennial of California's declaration of independence, known as the Bear Flag rebellion, was an occasion of great pomp and much pride.

This week, however, the 150th anniversary of the Bear Flag uprising is seen by some as an occasion for shame. Students and human rights organizations are decrying the white man's "occupation" as a disaster for California's native peoples.

"Why honor people who created genocide?" asks Bobby Castillo, a member of the American Indian Movement.

In a sense, such a question is too late. California's very identity and most of its names are

indelibly bound up with Spanish conquest and Gold Rush. From San Diego to Sonoma, the Spanish missionary outposts have become the names for the state's great cities. A thousand places bear melodious Spanish sibilants. And sports teams honor the Padres and the Forty-Niners. The towns are crisscrossed with streets named for victorious settlers and fortune seekers. The literal apotheosis of California's popular image is the current drive to make Junipero Serra, the founding friar of the California missions, a saint.

Now, though, some Californians are beginning to wonder whether they are honoring the wrong people. Junipero Serra at best ran roughshod over Indian culture in his zeal to convert the Indians. At worst he was complicit in their beatings and deaths. In any case, he is responsible for setting up the mission system in California: When the first mission was built in 1769 there were about 300,000 Indians in what is now California; but within one hundred years the Indian population had been cut in half by disease and malnutrition.

Visitors from other European countries were shocked by the cruelty of the Franciscans. Many compared the condition of the Indians to that of slaves. One observer wrote about an Indian so desperate to escape Spanish shackles that he sliced off his heels. The friars, anthropologist Alfred Louis Kroeber wrote, "were saving souls only at the inevitable cost of lives."

So how did the missionaries come to be honored? The Spanish past was almost forgotten in the early 19th century. The missions had fallen into the decay and Father Serra's unmarked grave at Carmel was covered in garbage and adobe ruins.

By the end of the 19th century, though, the Spanish past came to be enveloped in mists of nostalgia. Mission Revival became the state's signature style, a blend of arches and towers and tiles that graced every sort of building from school to train station. Spanish California enjoyed an edenic glow; textbooks celebrated the advent of the padres as great humanitarians who lifted the Indians up from ignorance and superstition.

"The missions were portrayed as havens of happiness and the Indians as beneficiaries of a superior civilization," wrote the historian James J. Rawls. "The Mission Myth embodied values desperately needed by Californians in an age of rapid social and economic change, values of stability and antiquity, harmony and hierarchy."

This triumphal reading of the past wasn't seriously doubted until the 1980s, when Pope John Paul II beatified Serra, whose image and name abound in California.



The Pioneer monument (1894) shows a triumphant friar and a vacquero towering over a supine Indian.

Junipero Serra is not the only monumental figure at stake. Bitter objections also greeted San Francisco's decision in 1991 to relocate the Pioneer Monument (originally unveiled in 1894) to a more prominent spot in the civic center to make way for a new library. The monument — an 820-ton granite and bronze behemoth honoring the founding of California — is an array of reliefs and statues, including the figures of a triumphant friar and a vacquero towering over a supine Indian.

Native Americans wanted the whole thing destroyed. If the Indians were subjugated today like they were during the colonization of the West, Mr. Castillo said at a public hearing, we would be talking about a war crimes tribunal, not a monument.

Geronimo Street

The alternative suggestions poured in: One artist offered to donate a different monument, several tons of stone block quarried from a concentration camp crushing an Indian figure. One American Indian suggested naming a street after Geronimo. Another person asked that the name of San Francisco be changed to disassociate the city from the Franciscans.

The city instead agreed to install a plaque that would give the Indian side of the story, suggesting that the missionaries were responsible for the deaths of 150,000 Indians. But before the plaque's scheduled installation last April the Catholic Church, historians and the Spanish consul general all complained that the inscription distorted the facts.

"The problem is you have a demeaning statue," said

Kevin Starr, the state librarian and a well-known California historian. "But you can't rewrite history. The Franciscans didn't have the cultural insights of the 1990's."

Historians also have pointed out that the Forty-Niners were even more destructive than the Spanish and the missionaries. In the 25 years after gold was discovered near Sacramento in 1848, the Indian population plummeted from 150,000 to about 30,000. Authorities offered bounties for the heads of Indians and the state spent about \$1 million to reimburse individuals for the bullets used to shoot them.

All of which raises more questions about California's names and monuments. One of the benevolent-looking statues on the Pioneer Monument depicts men panning for gold. A major street running through downtown San Francisco is named after John Sutter, the man who set off the rush. And there is, of course, the local football team. All those names arguably, if inadvertently, commemorate a decidedly bloody period. The issue is not likely to go away considering that the sesquicentennial of the discovery of gold on the American River is less than two years away.

Something of a truce, however, was declared last month when the San Francisco Art Commission voted to delete the reference that held the church responsible for 150,000 Indian deaths and add a line blaming the European colonization for the misfortunes of the Indians. Not everybody was happy, of course.

"How many people are going to take the time to read the plaque?" asked Mr. Castillo. "They're going to see history as it has always been portrayed, with the Indian as a subservient, heathen savage."



Another bit of California history raises eyebrows.

When Battered Women Recant

New Witness for the Prosecution

By ADAM NOSSITER

OVER a period of eight years, Boris Ellis struck his wife, stabbed her, twisted a string around her neck so tight it left scars, put a gun to her head, burned her buttocks with an iron and routinely threatened to kill her.

But this spring, when prosecutors from the Manhattan District Attorney's office asked Alicia Brown to testify against her husband, she balked. The 24-year-old hospital secretary urged them to drop the case against Mr. Ellis, a 25-year-old illegal Jamaican immigrant whom prosecutors described as a drug dealer. She visited him in prison. On the witness stand, she recanted the accusations against him, blamed the violence on herself and said she was injured by a fall in a closet.

The case, like many others involving abused women who later refuse to help authorities, might have collapsed at that point and ended with the couple eventually reunited. But in the first case of its kind for New York City, according to the District Attorney's office, the prosecutors successfully petitioned the judge to summon an expert witness on battered women's syndrome.

The expert, Karla Digirolamo, former director of the New York State Office for the Prevention of Domestic Violence, not only told jurors why some women become reluctant to take on abusive husbands, but she also explained why many battered women return to their abusers. In effect, the prosecutors used the witness to contradict Ms. Brown, victim and erstwhile complainant. The gambit turned out to be a smart one: The jury found Mr. Ellis guilty of assault. On May 30, Manhattan Supreme Court Justice Charles Tejada, calling Mr. Ellis "cowardly," handed him the maximum sentence of up to 10 years. The prosecutors vowed to use experts on battered women again.

Here was a switch. Over the last two decades, the battered women's syndrome has become familiar in the courtroom. But it has been invoked largely for defendants. Defense attorneys have brought in experts



Prosecutors now use experts on battered women to contradict a reluctant witness.

to explain why their clients might stay with an abusive partner for years and finally kill him in self-defense. After years of violence, these experts say, such women are frightened, trapped yet dependent on the men who beat them.

The battered women's syndrome became so widely accepted that in the early part of the decade, a number of states, notably Ohio and Maryland, granted clemencies to women imprisoned for assaulting or killing their mates. The belief was that the women had acted in self-defense. Some prosecutors have attacked use of the syndrome as a defense, arguing that the defendant embraces it as a means of staying out of prison.

Now many prosecutors have been making quiet use of the battered women's syndrome and its proponents. While the Ellis case was a first for New York City, over the last 10 years or so, prosecutors elsewhere have increasingly turned to the use of experts in domestic violence cases, said Holly Maguigan, a professor who runs a legal clinic at New York University School of Law.

If there is no victim, jurors can easily wonder if there was a crime. "It's hard for jurors to understand why they should take a case seriously if the victim is unwilling to come forward and testify," Ms. Maguigan said.

"In all these cases, experts are used to help jurors overcome their own myths about how people react to trauma," she said.

These expert witnesses explain why an accuser might change her mind. "It's a very serious problem," said Maggie Pasquale, deputy bureau chief of the Family Violence and Child Abuse Bureau in the Manhattan District Attorney's office. "A great number of the domestic violence victims decide for various reasons — emotional or financial, pressure from the family — not to testify against the abuser."

Abused and Beaten Down

The dilemma of the prosecution was illustrated by the scene in the courtroom the day Mr. Ellis was sentenced. Ms. Brown sat in the last row, frightened and demure. Her husband swaggered into the courtroom, smiling. In a rambling statement, he denied abusing his wife.

"Judge, you saw the smiles and smirks from this defendant, showing his utter contempt for these proceedings," Gail Heatherly, an assistant district attorney, told Judge Tejada. "It was something like what we're seeing now."

Ms. Brown, faithful to the end, defended her husband in court, saying that he had been good to her two children.

"She said she wants to plan a future with this man," Ms. Heatherly told Judge Tejada, and added that this statement was "testimony to how far down this man has beaten Alicia Brown."

Leary's Legacy Is, Like, Flipped, Man

TIMOTHY LEARY was no great advocate of rules, but somebody has to keep track of them. And his death last weekend, with the attendant wash of nostalgia about the 1960's, raised a question: were you supposed to tune in before turning on and dropping out, or did you turn on first?

For years, the media had it both ways. A Nexis database search of major publications going back to January 1994 turns up 18 references to Dr. Leary's well-known slogan, "tune in, turn on, drop out," and 17 references to Dr. Leary's well-known slogan, "turn on, tune in, drop out." On the same day in 1994, reporting on the same event, The San Francisco Chronicle tried one way, The San Francisco Examiner the other. Search back 15 years, and the pattern is much the same.

What were Americans supposed to think?

The answer, for the seriously curious, has been available all along. In Mr.

Leary's autobiography, "Flashbacks," published in 1983, turning on comes first; at least that's what Mr. Leary recalled writing down upon emerging from the shower one day in 1966, having considered Marshall McLuhan's advice to find a catch phrase to "arouse consumer interest" in psychedelic drugs.

"Bartlett's Familiar Quotations" concurs. The 16th edition, terse as ever, says that "Turn On, Tune In, Drop Out" was the "title of a lecture."

Most of the obituaries got it right. (The New York Times, which had published 6 tune-ins and 2 turn-ons in the last five years, corrected its obituary after the first edition.)

But if recent usage is any guide, the phrase will go on and on, in the original and in its corrupted version, as the single thing Timothy Leary is remembered as having said. Unless, of course, anyone recalls his prediction to 1967 that in 15 years the Supreme Court would be smoking pot.



Timothy Leary knew how to say it right.

The World

Israel's Fundamentalist Thing

By JUDITH MILLER

ONLY days after the election that brought Benjamin Netanyahu and his Likud Party to power, the 400 Jews of Hebron seized an ancient Turkish bath near their settlement and gathered for a concert of Hasidic music and male-only dancing to celebrate "Heavenly Mercy" and the "Hand of God" on Earth — namely, the victory of the party that had pledged to make fewer concessions to the Arabs, advance peace through military strength and insure that Israel becomes a more Jewish state.

While American and Arab officials ponder the impact of Mr. Netanyahu's victory on the peace process, a debate has begun among Israeli and American Jews on the third pledge: What will a Likud victory mean for Jewish identity, the nature of Zionism and the decidedly secular life style led by most Israelis — Jews and non-Jews?

Under Israel's new political arrangements, which greatly increase the Prime Minister's independence, Mr. Netanyahu will have the last word on how much clout those who favor a more religious state will have. Still, devout Israelis have reason to celebrate: the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox parties captured 23 seats in the 120-member Parliament, up from 16. This has sparked alarm among Conservative and Reform rabbis seeking to end the Orthodox monopoly on Jewish rituals.

A List of Demands

The New York-based newspaper Jewish Week warned that Israel's continued exclusion of non-Orthodox leaders from religious life might prompt a crisis affecting financial support from American Jews.

But in demands published last week, the religious parties seem determined to make Israel even more a nation in which temporal and spiritual authority are combined. Their demands range from a ban on importing pork to the abolition of the Basic Law passed under Labor in 1992. Israel's Supreme Court says the law opens the door to greater religious pluralism; the religious argue it is inconsistent with Halacha, the law of the Torah, which they place above that of any state.

Leaders of Israel's religious bloc sought last week to calm secular fears. "They shouldn't be afraid of us," said Rabbi Abraham Ravitz of United Torah Judaism, one of three religious parties that form a bloc in the new Parliament. "We're not going to make a second Iran in the Middle East."

Some analysts argue that the new numbers in Parliament reflect little more than the new electoral system, which allowed for the direct election of a Prime Minister and let Israelis vote their spiritual concerns in Parliament. But given their numbers, said Henry Siegman of the Council on Foreign Relations, a former head of the American Jewish Congress, "it's hard to see how they can be denied."

Calling the change a crisis, Naomi Chazan, a left-wing legislator, said, "As important as the fate of the peace process is, what kind of Jewish state will Israel become?"

Israeli Jews have long agreed that Israel is a Jewish state, but they disagree on what that means. The country's largely secular founders sought to replace religious identity with nationalist symbols. But from the beginning, matters of birth, death, marriage and conversion were coded to the Orthodox, to avert discord over religion's proper role.

Over the past 15 years, says Professor Joel Kraemer of the University of Chicago, ultra-Orthodox voices — what he calls Jewish fundamentalists — have gained significantly. While the three main religious parties disagree on whether Biblical territory can be exchanged for peace, Mr. Kraemer says all have used democracy to gain positions in the largely secular establishment. Their goal, he says, is to place the state under the law of God, which has striking parallels with Islamic fundamentalism.

Jewish fundamentalists, Mr. Kraemer says, want their view of Halacha to govern.



In Hebron, Israeli settlers listened to the speeches of right-wing rabbis.

Regarding the secular state of Israel as heretical, they "see democracy primarily as a means to an end," he said.

The "miraculous" victory of 1997 was, for many religious Jews, a turning point; it allowed nationalism to fuse with messianic prophecy and produce a movement of settlers who claim an eternal right to all of the Jews' Biblical land. "These once marginalized Orthodox Jews could now participate fully in the goals of the Jewish state," said Professor Samuel C. Heilman, Professor of Jewish Studies and Sociology at the City University of New York, "for they believed they had captured its soul."

A Military Presence

Through 16 besder yeshivas — religious seminaries that combine education with military service — religious influence within the once adamantly secular military has grown, so much so that seminary graduates and students now comprise nearly 40 percent of the officers in elite military units, Professor Heilman says. (One graduate was Yigal Amir, the law student who killed Yitzhak Rabin in 1995.)

Some once-neutral ultra-Orthodox groups sided with Mr. Netanyahu, as did more than 90 percent of religious voters. The Lubavitch Rabbi Yitzhak Ginsburg created a

furor when he claimed that Jews were genetically superior to non-Jews — sentiments that Labor Party officials used to brand rabbis who endorsed Mr. Netanyahu as "Jewish ayatollahs."

"The issue," said Professor Yirmiyahu Yovel of Hebrew University, "is whether Israel will shape a way of life according to Western, democratic concepts, or one infected by Middle Eastern fundamentalism and a theocratic impulse."

Several Israelis portrayed the growing religious vote as a response to such attacks (as well as a response by victims of discrimination, principally Sephardic Jews, who felt ignored by the major parties).

Mr. Netanyahu, a divorcee who hails from a proud, secular Zionist family, is unlikely to yield to the religious bloc's demands, one argument goes; indeed, his hints at a possible national unity coalition with Labor are believed in part to be an effort to persuade the religious bloc to scale back its demands.

But Ms. Chazan and other liberals worry for the future, especially since Orthodox birth rates are high. "The rights of women and minorities will be Likud's first concession to the religious bloc," she said, noting that even as the number of religious legislators rose, the number of women in Parliament dropped from 12 to 9.

Netanyahu's World: Hold the Peace; Keep the Process

Continued From Page 1

has essentially closed off discussion on all the major issues in dispute. (Among other things, the draft program declares that "Israel will guard the water sources essential to it in the West Bank" and "the eastern border of the state of Israel will be the Jordan River.")

Most likely, Mr. Netanyahu will open with some conciliatory gestures — a partial withdrawal from Hebron; loosened restrictions on the Gaza Strip and West Bank; a lifting of the threat to close down Orient House, the unofficial Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Jerusalem.

He will also repeat his intention, confirmed in the draft program, to negotiate with the Palestinian Authority on a permanent peace agreement. The problem is that in detailing the negotiations, the draft program talks only of insuring that the Palestinians "prevent terror, extradite terrorists and cease incitement against Israel." None of the other issues raised in the existing agreements — Jerusalem, refugees, water, settlements, land — are mentioned. For that matter, the existing agreements are not mentioned. (Talks on a comprehensive peace with the Palestinians are supposed to conclude by 2000 under the Israeli-Palestinian accords, but no one realistically expects that deadline to be met.)

Who Needs More?

The fact is that the status quo is essentially what the last Likud government envisioned as the optimal and permanent settlement: the Palestinians have control of their cities, and the rest of the West Bank is divided into areas controlled exclusively by Israel and areas jointly patrolled by Israel and the Palestinians.

The status quo now is about what the last Likud government envisioned.

Mr. Netanyahu has made clear he has no problem with things as they are, but he has never indicated any intention to go beyond them — especially with Yasir Arafat, for whom he seems to have a personal aversion. All the things Mr. Arafat now seeks — more land, a state, control over water, the right of return for refugees, a freeze on settlement — are red lines for Mr. Netanyahu. The draft program explicitly proclaims that "settlement in all parts of the land of Israel is an expression of our right to the land and it represents an inseparable part of our national security."

The only reason Mr. Arafat might play along with the process is if he finds some tangible economic benefits in it. The Palestinian Authority's main problem today is not frustrated national aspirations, but poverty. If Mr. Netanyahu and the outside world succeed in setting up industrial zones in Gaza and bringing more money in, Mr. Arafat might agree to tread water on other fronts.

For other Arab states, Mr. Netanyahu's election poses both problems and opportunities. In the aftermath, Arab leaders launched a round of meetings — Syria and Egypt in Cairo; Jordan, the Palestinians and Egypt in Jordan; Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt in Damascus; King Hussein of Jordan and the Americans in Washington this week. The aim is to assess the election outcome

and demonstrate unity. But the Arabs haven't had any unity in a long time, and it's hardly certain that a stall on the Palestinian track would provoke their unified wrath.

In the Israeli view, each player had his own calculations. Most promising for them was King Hussein of Jordan. Though some conservative Jews still nostalgically dream of putting the Palestinians under the King in some kind of confederation, Mr. Netanyahu's foreign-affairs strategists acknowledged that King Hussein in recent years had forsworn any such role once and for all. In their view, King Hussein wants better relations with Israel, and privately would not like Mr. Arafat to form a Palestinian state because it would create tensions with Jordan's large Palestinian population.

Egypt, Again

At the same time, the Israelis calculate that the King would be threatened by a breakdown in the Palestinian negotiating process, especially if it led to violence. That would bolster his critics and force him to take sides with the Palestinians against Israel. By some accounts, King Hussein was furious with Prime Minister Shimon Peres for ordering the harsh assaults in southern Lebanon in April, which put the King in the unenviable position of professing friendship for a regime that was bullying Lebanese civilians.

Mr. Netanyahu's bigger challenge is thought to be President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and the "cold peace" between Egypt and Israel. In the view of some Likud strategists, Mr. Mubarak might seek to take advantage of the election of a hard-liner in Israel to restore his lost role as a pan-Arab leader. The Egyptian leader has already talked of convening an Arab summit.

Thus Mr. Netanyahu's initial efforts might be to

Conspiracy Theories

China's Garbage War

By SETH FAISON

WHY is garbage dominating the news in the Chinese media? For the past month, one story after another in China's state-run newspapers about yang laji (foreign garbage) has blamed the United States for dumping unwanted waste all over the country. Those selfish Americans, the articles say, are shirking their responsibility to the world community.

Those Wily Americans

One sample, from the New China News Agency: "The recent discovery of American garbage in a suburb of Beijing has aroused a great deal of anger and concern among the Chinese people, with many asking the same question: How did 'foreign garbage' sneak into our country? The major reason is that some developed countries, including the U.S., keep trying to transfer their harmful waste to developing countries, such as China, in order to avoid their own troubles."

The China Daily asked: "Is the United States acting like a responsible international community member as it demands others to be? If the U.S. Government is at all concerned about human rights, it should do something to stop the dirty business." China, it turns out, is giving as good as it gets.

In recent months, Chinese leaders have been accused by Americans of shamelessly pirating American music and computer software, deliberately smuggling AK-47's and even systematically starving orphans. In the American media, complex crimes in China are often simplified in a way that makes the central Government the main culprit, which is not always true. Many Americans have come to expect the worst from China's central Government, but in many cases, the real culprits are China's bustling entrepreneurs who have artfully avoided the not-so-long-arm of Beijing or escaped government notice altogether.

The Chinese press is now striking back, with typical heavy-handedness, twisting the small but genuine problem of foreign garbage into a big deal, complete with moral high ground. It provides some political counterpoint to all those American accusations and, domestically, makes China appear to be standing up to a foreign adversary. Just like in America, pointing a finger at the foreigners plays well.

The charge that China has been importing waste paper for years, trying to remedy a chronic paper shortage; sometimes the imported paper is contaminated with other waste. Although importing waste is illegal, wily agents and entrepreneurs on both sides of the ocean thwart shippers and customs officials by using the label "waste paper" on all manner of junk, including dirty diapers and even used hypodermic needles. Unscrupulous businessmen have been known to ship old newspapers that have been deliberately soaked to fetch more money by the ton.

Why has garbage, until recently a minor dot on the large canvas of Sino-American relations, become an orchestrated media

campaign angrily blaming Americans? High-stakes trade negotiations are now going on, with a deadline looming June 17, when \$2 billion of sanctions will kick in unless an agreement is reached. A steady fuss over foreign garbage offers a handy distraction if China is viewed as caving in to American demands in order to avert a trade war.

The media fuss has reached such a crescendo that on Wednesday the American Embassy in Beijing felt compelled to say the United States wanted to help stop the problem. A diplomat pointedly added that offers to assist in a Chinese investigation into illegal shipments have so far gone unanswered.

But there is a catch on the American side too: American assumptions that the Chinese Government is directly involved in music piracy, arms smuggling and other misdeeds are as misleading as Chinese notions that Washington is behind dumping garbage, contaminated or otherwise, overseas.

After the horrors perpetrated by the Chinese Communist Party over the years — from the starvation of 30 million people in the early 1960's to the killing of hundreds of unarmed civilians in the streets of Beijing in 1989 — many Americans assume that the party is complicit in lesser evils, a view sometimes promoted by American Govern-

China and the United States point fingers at each other in their trade disputes.

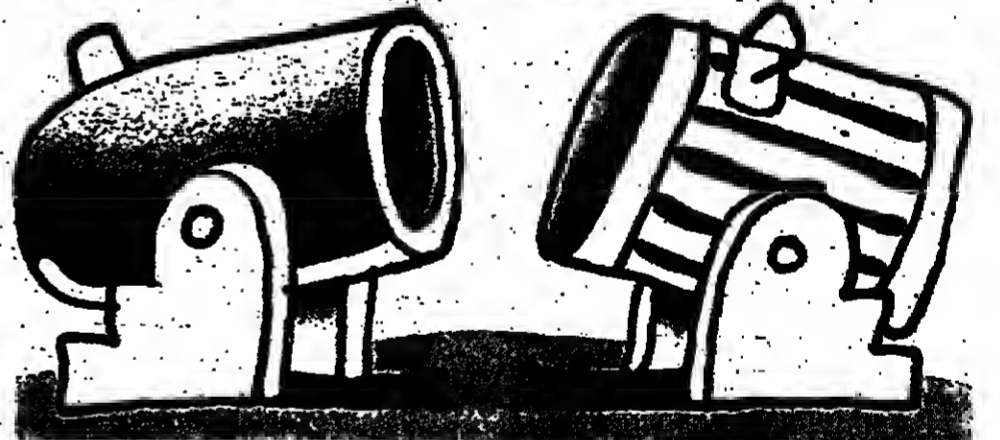
ment officials. But for every American convinced that the Chinese Government is involved in trade violations, there are probably about five Chinese who think that foreign garbage is an American conspiracy.

The Right Direction

Evidence clearly points to individuals, not government, on the piracy and arms smuggling issues. The Chinese Government is authoritarian, not monolithic. The compact disk factories proliferating in southern China are run by individuals or small groups, not agents from the central Government. Some factory managers have family or political connections with members of Beijing's elite. More have secured protection by their sharing profits with local officials or military officers, who can often deflect pesky investigators.

Over the past year, the central Government actually began to fight violations concerning intellectual property. Its failure so far has come from a lack of political will, which has meant inadequate enforcement, local protectionism and little punishment for the guilty. In short, after long ignoring the problem, the Government is headed in the right direction but with far to go.

The same might be said about foreign garbage.



Shawn Goldberg

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Two Roads to China: Nice, and Not So Nice

Boeing's Strategy Is Appeasement; Microsoft Grows

By DAVID E. SANGER

SEATTLE

LATER this month, in an extraordinary example of corporate diplomacy, the Boeing Company will airlift its entire board to China. Ostensibly, the directors will simply be holding their regular bimonthly meeting there, while touring sites like the vast construction hangars in Xian where, with Boeing's help, tens of thousands of workers are trying to transform China into a world-class aerospace power.

But the real purpose of the China tour is to deepen Boeing's ties to a small clutch of Chinese leaders who are by turns the aircraft maker's best customers and worst torturers. Just as oil companies have paved the way for Middle Eastern kings and emirs in America, Boeing is working harder than ever to impress the Chinese, intervening to defuse the cycle of recriminations between Beijing and Washington that has already begun to poison Boeing's hold on China's civilian aerospace market.

The company is looking for ways to offer China more aerospace technology. It is stepping up its role as Beijing's de facto lobbyist on Capitol Hill, even helping produce videos to soften China's public image in the American heartland. At times, it is reaching well beyond trade issues: Just the other day, a Boeing executive warned Chinese leaders that with Congress inflamed over Beijing's behavior, it would be foolish to go forward with a nuclear weapons test in northwestern China.

"We have credibility with the Chinese, and we try to use it toward good ends," said Philip M. Condit, Boeing's president and chief executive.

Just across Lake Washington, the Microsoft Corporation has developed a different approach — one that is often far more confrontational. William H. Gates, Microsoft's chairman, was in Washington 10 days ago to denounce China's failure to live up to its agreement to close the factories that produce billions of dollars of counterfeit versions of American software, music and videos. And just days away from Washington's June 17 deadline for China to close the pirate factories or face more than \$2 billion in sanctions against Chinese goods, Microsoft lawyers are literally leading Chinese police to the pirates' lairs, insisting on raids.

But to Microsoft, business is business, and its struggle to do something the Chinese desperately need — an understanding of the software that will make or break China's huge investment in the personal computer industry — allows it to stay clear of superpower diplomacy. "Nuclear weapons tests?" laughed Charles Stevens, its vice president for the Far East, when asked whether he too is providing China's leadership with advice. "We do Windows, not foreign policy."

The divergent approaches to dealing with China at Boeing and Microsoft — conciliatory versus confrontational — are a reminder that the Clinton Administration isn't the only one floundering to find a consistent and effective China policy. So is American business. Rarely have so many industries, with so many interests at stake, been so divided about how best to handle a country with so much market potential and so much political volatility. And those divisions have come to the surface more starkly than ever now that the Administration is threatening sanctions even as it presses Congress to renew most-favored-nation status for China.

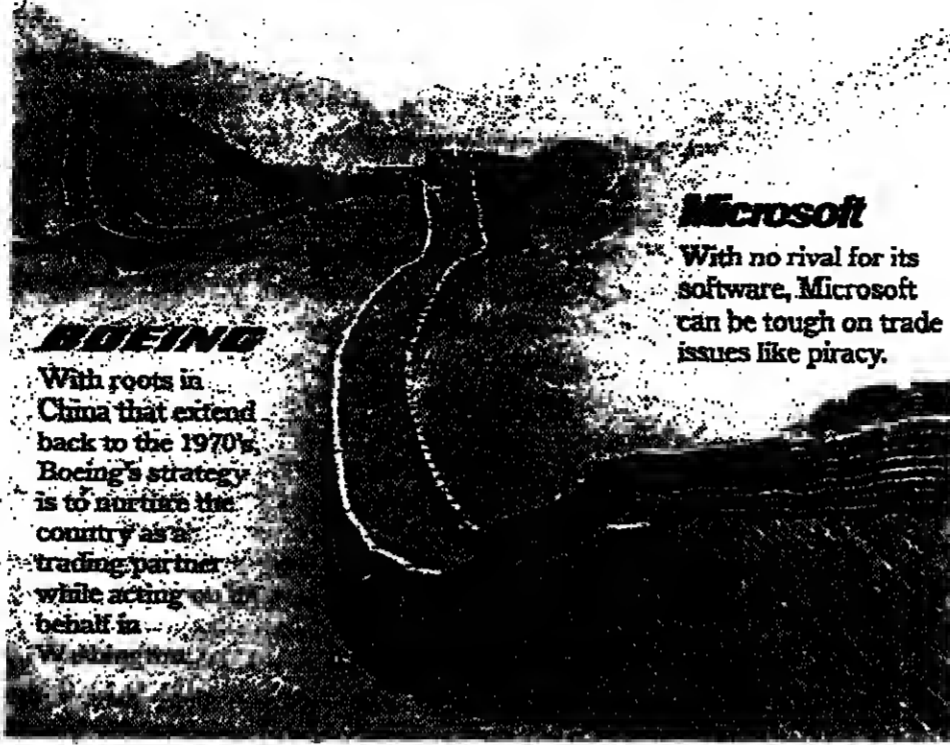
So far, neither Boeing's nor Microsoft's tactics can be called an overwhelming success. Boeing has spent 25 years developing a nuanced corporate foreign policy toward China, yet it has been roughed up twice by the country in the last two months: to strike back at Washington, Beijing has banded Boeing's European competitors a major aircraft order and then given them a big share in a long-term effort by China to build its own 100-seat airliner.

Mr. Condit, whose executive team is considered the most China-savvy in corporate America, winces a bit over how China has treated its corporate ambassador in recent months. "We are the designated hostage," he sighed the other day.

And Microsoft's executives, despite impressive sales gains in the last year, fear that China's reluctance to curb rampant software piracy and its inclination to exert Government control over the Internet could keep its business there tied down for years. Boeing's diplomatic dance with China goes back 25 years, but it's not getting any easier.

When President Richard M. Nixon visited Beijing in 1972, he used the Boeing 707 as one of his lures to open relations. It made little difference that China had no commercial air service at the time. Within weeks,

Opposite Approaches on Trade



the Chinese ordered 10 planes, making Boeing the first company with a serious toehold in what has become the world's greatest emerging market.

Boeing quickly became China's most valuable lobbyist. It flexed its muscles at the Export-Import Bank, which only a few years ago overcame its moniker as "the Boeing Bank" to get low-cost, American-backed loans for Chinese airlines. Every year it took up China's cause in the most-favored-nation debate, reminding Congress that denying trade benefits to China would cost hundreds of thousands of jobs in the United States. Now it is championing China's effort to become a member of the World Trade Organization, an uphill battle because China refuses many of the market-opening commitments required of the other members.

Boeing's dedication to China is understandable: China is the world's most promising air market. In 1994, the company's best year there, sales hit \$1.25 billion, more than 10 percent of its foreign sales and 25 percent of its commercial sales that year in the United States. Last year, a rough year for Boeing because of a big strike, the figure dropped to \$721 million, but China still accounted for 1 of every 10 planes Boeing made.

The relationship is far deeper than just sales. What the Chinese want is technology, and they know how to use their leverage to get it. The results are visible on the floor of Boeing's huge assembly hangar in Renton, just south of Seattle. Every few weeks the giant Xian Aircraft Company, whose factory outside the famed walled city of Xian also produces China's military aircraft, ships Boeing a fully completed tail section and rear stabilizer for the Boeing 737. Half of all the tail sections produced for the 737 are now Chinese made; the other half are produced in Wichita, Kan.

"The Chinese are incredibly good at producing whatever we ask them to produce," Obrad Cvetovich, Boeing's vice president for quality and process management, said the other day as a giant overhead crane lifted the latest Chinese-made tail section onto Boeing 737 No. 2803. "They have an insatiable thirst for technology, and they pick it up and apply it right away." Dismissing complaints about quality from Boeing's unions, which went on strike last year partly because of China's growing role in producing the planes, Mr. Cvetovich said, "We haven't had any problems." As if on cue, it took only 12 minutes for the crane operators and mechanics to line up the Chinese-made tail section, slip it seamlessly onto the rear of the plane and bolt it into place.

What is happening in Renton is, in many ways, the future for all high-technology companies swarming into China. Volkswagen and Motorola and McDonnell Douglas have all begun building high-tech plants in China, and for reasons that have nothing to do with cheap labor. It is in return for market access. Whether it is worth the cost is a raging debate in American industry. It has paid off for Motorola, but McDonnell Douglas has been consistently disappointed, with small returns on its huge investments.

"We don't do it to save money," said Lawrence W. Clarkson, Boeing's senior vice president for planning and international development. "We do it for the business. By the time you are done training, doing the quality control and shipping the parts back here, it doesn't save a thing."

And there is a constant debate within Boeing over just how to satisfy China's thirst for technology without giving away the secret recipe of aircraft integration, producing a complete, airworthy plane.

"Obviously, you don't tell someone everything you know," Mr. Condit said. "But we've learned that you can't play a defen-

sive game. Technology moves in a lot of channels rapidly. And the trick is to give something away just as you are developing something better."

Until recently, this policy of teaching China the magic of building airplanes while helping it out in Washington has made Boeing an indispensable corporate partner. But in the last year, Boeing learned it was not as indispensable as it had hoped.

Twice in the last two months China has dealt devastating blows to the aircraft maker. In April, Li Peng, China's Prime Minister, diverted a \$1.5 billion aircraft order, widely expected to go Boeing's way, to Airbus Industrie, the European consortium. Then, in case anyone in Washington missed the point, Chinese officials made clear that Boeing would probably be frozen out of China's big new venture to build a fleet of 100-seat jetliners. The 30 percent Western stake in the project — on which billions of dollars in future revenue probably ride — would go instead to a consortium of European nations that don't lecture China about human rights, don't threaten sanctions for the piracy of music, videos and software and don't send their warships patrolling the Taiwan Straits.

Mr. Clarkson, a large, jovial man with remarkable contacts in China, has been traveling to Beijing for two years to lobby for a 20 to 30 percent equity share in the project. His eagerness was understandable. China can make and cancel orders for individual aircraft, depending on the political temperature of the moment. But if Boeing could become the technological linchpin of China's project, it would become virtually impossible for China to switch partners midstream. And until relations with Washington began going down the tubes this winter, Boeing clearly had the advantage: China's big airlines knew Boeing's technology intimately and wanted more of it.

"There's no doubt we are being punished," concluded Ronald B. Woodard, president of Boeing Commercial Airplane Group. It seemed as if China was making good on a warning one of its vice premiers gave Mr. Clarkson a year ago. "He said, 'Because your Government constantly chooses to kick us and harass us, many, many business opportunities that should go to the U.S. have gone elsewhere.'"

But Boeing remains optimistic that it can reverse the tide. Some say the 100-seat airplane deal may yet land on Boeing Field, especially if dealing with a number of European nations simultaneously turns into a morass. (Others were not entirely unhappy to lose the deal; Boeing would have had a 30 percent stake but virtually all of the responsibility for producing an airworthy plane.) And in the meantime, Boeing continues to do much of China's political spade work in the United States.

It has teamed up with Motorola, Allied Signal, Caterpillar and American International Group, which sells insurance in China, to create the China Normalization Initiative, an effort to buff China's image. It has produced a video that is a remarkably dewey-eyed depiction of China — no repression of dissidents, no sales of automatic weapons to gangs in Los Angeles, no nuclear proliferation, but plenty of Chinese enjoying American goods.

"This constant cycle of arguments has polarized the relationship," Mr. Clarkson said. That, of course, is exactly the message Beijing wants Boeing to send back to Washington — that the price of trying to impose America's will on China will be to cut off access to the greatest emerging market of them all.

Microsoft doesn't make gauzy films about China and doesn't go to bat for the Chinese on Capitol Hill. It doesn't need to — at least so far. In a country of power relationships, it controls access to the personal computer

software technology China most needs. And Chinese leaders know that, at least for now, there is no alternative source, no Airbus of the software world that China can use to whip Microsoft in line.

As a result, Microsoft can afford to take a hard line on software piracy. Its revenues in China are still tiny — roughly \$20 million last year for a company with sales of nearly \$6 billion. Its greatest competition is the pirates that hold 95 percent of China's software market, selling counterfeit copies of programs and compilation disks that combine thousands of dollars in software onto a single CD-ROM that sells for a few dollars. (In the United States, the percentage of illegally copied software sold to computer users is roughly 35 percent; in Europe around 30 percent.)

"This whole argument is about our long-term future in China, and China's long-term chances of developing a viable software industry," said William H. Neukom, Microsoft's general counsel. "We're an intellectual property company; it's where all of the value of our company rests. Our business requires a set of laws and culture that protects that."

So these days, Microsoft is spending half its time trying to build a legitimate software industry in China and the other half trying to rip apart an illegal one. It has stitched together partnerships with more than 20 fledgling Chinese software houses, which help produce local versions of Microsoft programs and then often turn out spinoff applications of their own. Through those connections, Microsoft executives try to convince provincial officials, local tycoons and Government bureaucrats that ending piracy is in their own economic interest.

"We tell them that letting people profit from legitimate programs is the only way to create an incentive for innovation," Mr. Neukom said. "And we tell them that we don't have a monopoly on innovation — someday soon those battalions of Chinese software engineers will be turning out programs that they will want to protect."

Sounds nice, but it is a tough argument to make in the grimy industrial towns of

Guangdong, the hotbed of piracy in southern China, where copying American software is the path to riches for the military, relatives of provincial officials and leaders of organized crime. So when it's not evangelizing, Microsoft has become the enforcer.

It was Microsoft, for example, that was behind the raid in late April on the Jin Die Science and Technology Development Company in Guilin, known as one of the most skilled producers of counterfeit Microsoft programs. An informant passed his wealth of knowledge about the plant to a Microsoft agent in the area. His report reached the office of Valerie Colbourn, a lawyer for the software maker in Hong Kong. With the help of other lawyers, Ms. Colbourn — operating through a consortium of American software concerns — persuaded the local office of the Administration of Industry and Commerce to move in.

Microsoft had spent months working its way into the good graces of the industry and commerce office. "The fellow in charge is someone we've worked with a lot and who has a good grasp of the problem," Ms. Colbourn said last week.

After an all-night standoff with the plant manager, the authorities finally gained access to the storeroom and uncovered a cache of 5,700 CD-ROMs, mostly Microsoft titles. The plant has since been closed, but Ms. Colbourn has few illusions that it is out of business. The equipment is still there, and so is the profit motive.

"If there is an agreement in the next few weeks or not," she said, "we're still going to be fighting this battle for a long time."

But by bringing the power of China's central Government to bear on the pirates, some China experts fear, Microsoft may be creating a precedent that will come to haunt it. Chinese authorities are already threatening to limit access to the Internet, fearing it will end Beijing's control over news and dissenting views. There is a growing fear that China will use its obligations to control software piracy as an excuse to crack down on the Internet. As Boeing already knows, in China a collision between politics and business is never far away. □

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

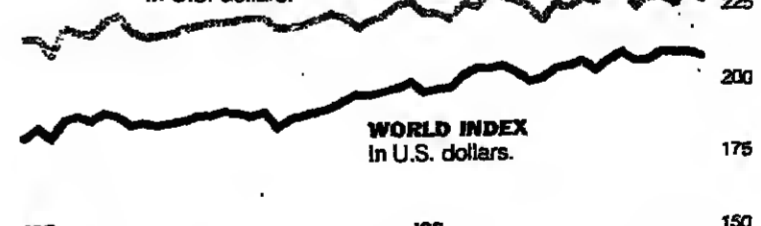
PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS

Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	201.22	-2.9	24	5.9	15	4.36	169.09	-0.5
Austria	193.83	-0.3	10	11.1	7	1.81	154.56	19.1
Belgium	208.95	-0.6	12	-0.1	22	4.09	162.73	7.2
Brazil	164.86	-3.4	25	19.5	2	2.14	303.22	22.9
Britain	231.82	-1.7	19	0.6	21	4.17	222.82	1.3
Canada	162.61	-1.2	18	9.5	9	2.37	160.76	9.7
Denmark	294.13	-0.2	8	1.9	20	1.90	237.00	8.9
Finland	192.28	-4.1	26	2.8	19	2.63	190.09	11.5
France	194.32	-0.7	14	8.3	13	3.03	158.46	15.1
Germany	169.19	0.3	5	3.4	18	1.85	134.98	10.8
Hong Kong	436.43	-0.9	15	12.6	5	3.29	433.70	12.7
Ireland	263.80	0.3	6	11.1	6	3.39	253.13	12.7
Italy	81.29	-2.0	21	10.3	8	2.33	94.18	7.9
Japan	152.87	-1.8	20	-1.3	23	0.73	105.38	4.3
Malaysia	555.90	-0.2	9	14.6	3	1.68	534.70	12.7
Mexico	1,260.63	0.3	7	21.7	1	1.37	10,367.01	18.8
Netherlands	295.88	-0.9	16	6.5	11	3.11	231.97	16.3
New Zealand	76.14	-2.5	22	-4.4	25	4.55	60.35	-8.7
Norway	250.62	-0.6	11	8.4	12	2.03	223.24	12.6
Singapore	421.89	1.1	1	3.6	17	1.37	273.94	3.2
South Africa	360.23	-0.7	13	-6.5	26	2.11	343.60	11.9
Spain	176.47	0.4	4	8.8	14	3.21	173.08	14.0
Sweden	354.47	0.5	3	13.6	4	2.40	354.31	15.7
Switzerland	230.41	-1.1	17	-2.4	24	1.64	180.84	7.4
Thailand	175.11	-2.7	23	4.1	16	1.91	172.36	4.8
United States	274.34	0.7	2	9.2	10	2.15	274.34	9.2

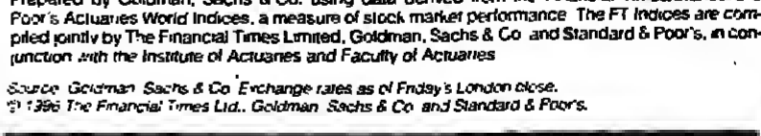
COMPOSITE INDICES

Europe	206.17	-1.0	3.6	3.07	183.55	8.0
Pacific Basin	166.16	-1.7	0.6	1.18	116.69	4.8
Europe/Pacific	183.56	-1.3	2.0	2.08	142.02	6.3
World	212.67	-0.5	5.1	2.11	183.31	7.8

BRITAIN INDEX In U.S. dollars



WORLD INDEX In U.S. dollars



CURRENCIES

Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	109.28	108.07	+1.12	84.34
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.5368	1.5225	+0.94	1.4055
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3645	1.3688	-0.31	1.3778
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.5373	1.5510	-0.88	1.5935

June 3-7: Strong Labor Report Is Embraced by the Stock Market, but Bond Prices Fall

PRICES

DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market	Up 0.68%
S. & P. 500 index	673.31
Blue chips	Up 0.96%
Dow 30 industrials	5,697.11
Small capitalization	Down 0.83%
Russell 2000 index	358.84

DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Down 0.32%
Ryan Labs. Total Return	183.30
Municipals	Down 1.39%
Bond Buyer Index	111.00
Corporates	Down 0.35%
Merrill Lynch Master index	788.90

AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks	Down 0.97%
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	208.17
Asian stocks	Down 1.69%
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	166.16
Gold	Down 0.84%
New York cash price	\$387.60

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms

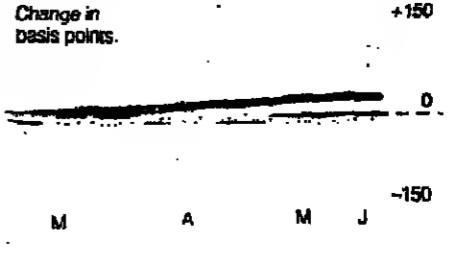
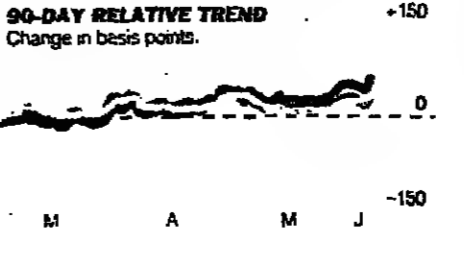
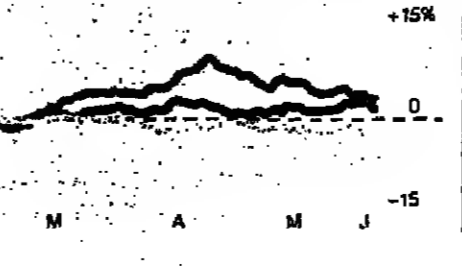
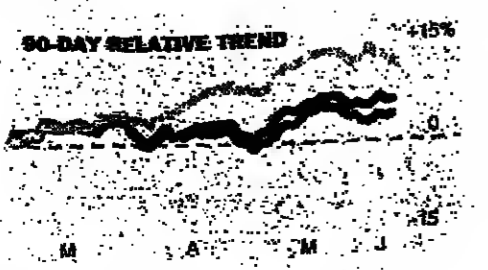
YIELDS

BONDS

Long bonds	7.02%
30-year Treasuries	Up 4 basis pts
Notes	6.34%
2-year Treasuries	Up 10 basis pts
Municipals	6.20%
Bond Buyer index	Up 11 basis pts.

OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	4.76%
Taxable average	Up 2 basis pts.
Bank C.D.'s	4.92%
1-year small savers	Down 1 basis pt.
Stocks	2.18%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 2 b.p.



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor, Bloomberg Financial Markets, The Bond Buyer, Datastream, Goldman Sachs, IBC's Money Fund Report, Merrill Lynch, Standard & Poor's, Ryan Labs

The New York Times

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Boris Yeltsin's High-Wire Show

Politics for Boris Yeltsin always seems to be a high-wire act without a safety net. His approach to next Sunday's presidential election has been typical. For months he seemed indifferent to the quotidian business of governing Russia. He failed to organize a strong political party to support his programs and presidential candidacy. By early this year his popularity rating was registering in the single digits.

But just when the decline seemed terminal, Mr. Yeltsin somehow found the energy and political moxie to fight his way back into the race. This time he may have waited too long and set the wire too high, but he has given himself at least a chance of winning re-election. If no candidate wins at least 50 percent of the vote, a runoff election will be held this summer between the top two finishers.

Mr. Yeltsin, by political and personal inclination, is a daring man. That is his greatest strength as a political leader, and his greatest weakness.

Leading the Russian reformation has required a certain degree of recklessness. Mr. Yeltsin challenged the Soviet Communist leadership in the late 1980's, stood his ground against a coup attempt by Communist troglodytes in 1991, and has used his powers as President to lift Russia from centuries of tyranny. But the same audacity propelled him to launch a brutal war in Chechnya and arrogantly underestimate the appeal of the Communist Party, which now has an opportunity to reclaim power.

As Russians choose among 11 presidential candidates, they must decide whether Mr. Yeltsin deserves a second term. That will depend in no small measure on whether voters believe he has the political temperament to steady Russia after a decade of wrenching change.

Though the Russian Communist Party did well in parliamentary elections last December, and its presidential candidate, Gennadi Zyuganov, seems to be Mr. Yeltsin's strongest opponent, there is little sentiment in Russia for re-establishing a totalitarian state. The real debate is about the transition

from a state-controlled economy to capitalism. Most Russians seem to believe the shift should be slowed and managed more humanely, but not reversed, and they are looking for a president to do that.

None of the leading candidates possess the ideal mix of democratic principles, political instincts and administrative skills required to produce that soft landing. But some are clearly better than others. While promising to cushion economic reform, Mr. Zyuganov is more likely to erase it if elected. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, an extreme nationalist, offers no coherent economic program for Russia, and Aleksandr Lebed is a decorated former general without political or financial expertise.

The only men firmly committed to moving on to the next phase of change are Mr. Yeltsin and Grigory Yavlinsky, a progressive economist. While an ardent supporter of reform, Mr. Yavlinsky lacks the diplomatic touch needed to build a consensus or hold together a government.

That leaves Mr. Yeltsin, and some undecided voters seem to be drifting into his column by process of elimination. No one questions his courage. But Russians do wonder if he has the discipline and constancy to run an honest, effective and compassionate government.

After allowing economic reform to unfold unevenly and unfairly for the past five years, Mr. Yeltsin belatedly recognized the threat to his campaign and has barnstormed the country this spring wildly promising Russians all manner of Government largesse. Russians would no doubt welcome some help, but wonder if it will ever materialize.

If Mr. Yeltsin had spent more time these last years dealing with problems before they escalated into crises, including his own campaign, Russians might be more inclined to re-elect him. As it is, next Sunday's balloting will be another high-wire show.

A Test of Congressional Conscience

Mariella Batista survived her escape from Cuba in an inner-tube raft. But once in the United States, she could not obtain critical legal help that might have prevented her shooting death May 7 at the hands of a man who had beaten her for years. Her sad story has sparked an important new effort in Congress to try to roll back some of the devastating new restrictions on the federally financed Legal Services Corporation, which assists poor people with their civil legal problems.

A week before the 28-year-old Cuban immigrant was murdered by her estranged common-law husband in California, a local Legal Services office was forced to reject her desperate pleas for help in getting a protective order to keep him away. The budget bill signed in April by President Clinton not only decimated funding for Legal Services, but imposed restrictions severely weakening the organization's ability to represent needy clients.

Among other things, it barred local Legal Services offices from using even private donations to represent immigrants who are not lawful permanent residents. Ms. Batista, in the country on "protected parole" status, was in the process of obtaining her permanent resident status. Though sympathetic to her plight, Legal Services officials had to

turn her down because she did not qualify for help. Ms. Batista was shot while waiting outside a Family Court building for the start of a custody hearing involving her 9-year-old son by her ex-partner. Of course, some disturbed individuals will not be deterred by protective orders. But had Legal Services lawyers been allowed to help her, they could have made sure that she had law enforcement protection.

Prompted by the tragedy, Senator Edward Kennedy, the Massachusetts Democrat, has now proposed remedial legislation that would allow Legal Services offices to use non-Federal funds to handle the emergency legal problems of battered women and their children, regardless of their immigration status.

The change would entail no additional expenditure of Federal dollars, merely a recognition of the burly impact of denying legal protection from abuse to immigrant victims of domestic violence.

If the present Congress has a conscience, it will adopt this modest measure as partial atonement for its earlier attacks on a worthy program. It should be just the first step toward reversing the harshly punitive Republican assault on access to America's legal system.

Shutting the Fresh Kills Dump

New Yorkers love their superlatives. Not long ago, someone thought that the world's biggest garbage landfill, sprawling across 3,000 acres of Staten Island, could even serve as a tourist draw. But the Fresh Kills dump is an environmental disaster that politicians have long promised to shut down. The problem has been that no readily available alternative exists for the city's garbage. Now, lawsuits and the growing ire of Staten Islanders have forced the politicians to act. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Gov. George Pataki have pledged to close Fresh Kills in five years. Their agreement is welcome, but they still need to develop a plan for disposal of the city's refuse.

The Fresh Kills dump has been in business since 1948, but the hazards posed to air and water quality have mounted in recent years. Many Staten Islanders say that sickening odors from Fresh Kills are becoming unbearable even in winter. If the dump were built today, it would be out of compliance with Federal and state laws requiring steps to prevent rainwater from leaching into the soil, threatening the surrounding ecosystem. One impetus for the new agreement was a Federal lawsuit by a group led by the Staten Island Borough President, Guy Molinari. Leaving nothing to chance, Mr. Molinari has said the lawsuit will proceed anyway to make sure the agreement is enforced.

But the alternatives for the 13,000 tons of residential garbage now dumped at Fresh Kills are expensive, cumbersome or politically difficult. Carting the city's garbage to sites in other states will be costly, and in any case states are increasingly reluctant to accept refuse from a place that has actually cut back on recycling in recent years. Unless the city makes a more serious effort to handle its own garbage, many experts fear that Congress may step in and outlaw the exporting of its garbage to other locations.

Recycling programs, which were cut back for

budgetary reasons, should now be expanded. Money from Mr. Pataki's newly proposed \$1.5 billion environmental bond issue could help finance recycling centers in the city. (The bond issue, if approved by voters this fall, would also provide \$75 million to secure Fresh Kills once it is shut down.) Mr. Giuliani may also have to work with the Governor to extend and broaden legislation requiring refunds for bottles, encouraging composting and curbing the use of excess packaging. Many of these steps have been resisted by the business community, but it may be more receptive when it is explained that the costs of dumping refuse are about to go up.

Only a few years ago, the City Council took a bold step in authorizing the construction of new incinerators at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. That idea seems to be politically dead now because of community opposition. But there may be a role to play for incinerators with the new technology curbing air pollution from them. In addition, the city should consider garbage disposals in residential sinks, which have cut down on refuse in other cities without aggravating sewage problems.

Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Pataki, who have not always worked well together, said they will create a commission to study the Fresh Kills problem and come up with a game plan by Oct. 1. That is a good idea. But the Mayor and Governor struck a sour note by inviting only Republican allies to their announcement, snubbing many Democrats who have pushed for closure of Fresh Kills for years. Air and water quality should not be a partisan issue.

Indeed, if the promise to shut down Fresh Kills forces everyone to deal belatedly with environmental problems in the city, longtime supporters of the environment should rejoice. It may not be in the same league as President Kennedy's pledge to put a man on the moon within a decade, but it will push some urgent issues to the top of the city's agenda, where they belong.

Round-the-Clock Factories Mean More Jobs

To the Editor:
Although your June 4 front-page article "Factories That Never Close Are Scrapping 5-Day Week" does a good job depicting the impact of a change in work schedule on factory workers' lives, you miss the mark on several points:

First, the prime motivation for implementing a seven-day continuous work schedule is not more "efficient production" or employers' concern about "getting the most out of their employees." The goal is for companies better to use existing assets by not letting a plant sit idle two days a week.

This distinction is significant be-

cause both companies and employees stand to gain in the long run from this change. By operating seven days a week, companies can avoid expensive expansions, reduce manufacturing costs (by spreading the cost of plant and equipment over a larger production base) and compete more effectively with offshore manufacturing facilities that often have significantly lower labor costs. The net result is that American manufacturing jobs are retained or increased.

Second, by highlighting two infrequently used 12-hour schedules, you may leave readers with the impression that all 12-hour schedules are as fatiguing and have similar social

drawbacks. A far more commonly used 12-hour schedule provides workers with a three-day weekend off every two weeks and never requires them to work four consecutive night shifts.

Finally, the 5 A.M. and 6 A.M. start times for the two schedules cited leads to people's being tired because they must wake up so early. Many companies have achieved better results with slightly later change-over times.

The trend in a seven-day work-week is likely to continue. The key to a successful transition is to have employees actively participate in the schedule selection process. This helps insure that the new schedule meets business objectives and is responsive to employees' work and family needs.

JAMES STAM

STEVEN MARDON

Cambridge, Mass., June 5, 1996

The writers are, respectively, a management consultant and editor of a newsletter for Circulation Technologies, which converts companies to seven-day operations.

Are Generation X'ers Superior? Whatever

To the Editor:

In "Class of '71" (column, June 5) Frank Rich predicts that Bob Dole will resort to bashing the Woodstock Generation in an election year that he says promises to be fought over generational lines. He reports that Mr. Dole told students in Ohio that "young people today are so much better" than the war-protesting students of the 60's. But Mr. Rich underestimates the potential effect of political strategies on today's young people, the post-baby-boomers known as Generation X. We can smell rhetoric a mile away.

While Mr. Rich's Harvard class of '71 was busy "entrenching its social revolution" for the last 25 years, we were growing up on a steady diet of advertising messages and marketing gimmicks that interrupted reruns of "Charlie's Angels" and MTV videos. We know when we're being marketed to; we're too smart to fall for any politician's — or publicist's, or movie star's or newspaper columnist's — rhetoric. As one best-selling author proclaimed, Generation X's motto is "whatever."

We're also not likely to join Mr. Rich's generation group hug for the "tough and important battles" they fought. While we acknowledge that the baby boomers helped pave the way for gender and cultural equality, we also fear the effects of this generation's mammoth size of some 76



Jim Karis Schwarz

million people on our country's resources. A recent Swing magazine poll found that 86 percent of Generation X'ers don't expect to receive Social Security payments in their old age. The class of '71 will use up all the funds before we're old enough to retire.

Do we care if Bob Dole thinks we're better than Mr. Rich's generation? Do we care if Mr. Rich's peers are proud of their so-called 60's values? Do we care if the baby boomers get into a mud-slinging fight with Bob Dole's generation?

Whatever. JENNIFER SINGER
Kinnelon, N.J., June 5, 1996

Now Give Challengers Level Electoral Field

To the Editor:

As two of the original authors of the first bipartisan and bicameral campaign finance reform legislation considered by Congress in more than a decade, we are disappointed that Francis Wilkinson (Op-Ed, June 2) chose to attack a few components of our bill without considering the proposal as a whole.

The bipartisan plan offers candidates a series of incentives, including substantial discounts on broadcast media, in exchange for limits on campaign spending.

Understanding that the bulk of campaign cash goes to incumbents, not challengers, we also propose clamping down on channels of campaign giving such as "bundling," "soft money," out-of-state donations and political action committee contributions. By limiting the amount of money in the system, we can create a more level electoral playing field, making Congress more accessible to challengers.

It is incumbents — not challengers — who have the most access to PAC's, out-of-state donors and large special-interest donations. By limiting campaign spending and restricting the flow of campaign cash to incumbents, our legislation would change the status quo. It would for the first time provide women, minorities and the average citizen a realistic chance of running a competitive campaign against a well-financed and well-connected incumbent.

(Senator) RUSS FEINGOLD
(Rep.) MARTY MEEHAN
Washington, June 5, 1996

G.O.P. Medicare Proposal Covers Costs

To the Editor:

"The Medicare Argument" (editorial, June 4) suggests that a "serious, bipartisan effort" is needed to reform Medicare and that the Republican plan "was a move in the right direction." We strongly agree. Since President Clinton vetoed Medicare reform as part of the balanced budget passed by Congress last year, this vital program will go bankrupt just one year sooner than estimated just a year ago — in 2001 rather than 2002.

In fact, Medicare is worse off by \$114 billion today than it would have been had the President signed our legislation last year.

I would like to clarify one important point you make. Contrary to what you assert, the Congressional Budget Office has never stated that

medical costs are increasing at a rate that exceeds spending under the Republican plan.

Here are the facts according to the Budget Office: Inflation accounts for 2.9 percent and increased enrollment accounts for 1.3 percent. Taken together, these amount to a 4.2 percent growth rate. This is far less than the 7.2 percent growth rate of the Republican plan as included in the Balanced Budget Act of 1995.

The G.O.P. proposal more than covers inflation and the anticipated number of senior citizens enrolled in Medicare in 2002. Further, our program would have increased spending per person from \$4,800 to \$7,250 by the year 2002.

NEW T. GINGRICH
Speaker of the House
Washington, June 6, 1996

Test-Ban Dissent

To the Editor:

Your otherwise sane advice for proceeding further on a comprehensive test ban treaty (editorial, June 7) fails to take note of India's objections, and its insistence on linking any treaty to a time-bound program of genuine nuclear disarmament.

The upshot of following the course you suggest would be a likely reign of terror by the current nuclear powers. Thinking people cannot accept one more twist to a hegemonic new world order.

VAMAN RAO
Macomb, Ill., June 7, 1996
The writer is a professor of economics at Western Illinois University.

Goatsucker's Kin

To the Editor:

Your June 2 Week in Review article on the vampire-like depredations of the "goatsucker" of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans made fascinating reading. This imaginary creature bears the same name as a family of birds, the goatsuckers, or nightjars; whose names in Latin (Caprimulgidae), French (hôte-chèvre), German (Ziegenmelker) and Spanish (chotacabras) all reflect a superstition that these night-flyers sucked goat's milk.

MIRIAM T. GROSS
New York, June 4, 1996
The writer is the selection officer for natural history, general research division, New York Public Library.

U.S. Consumers, Not Law, Will Effect Change to Metric System

To the Editor:

"Kinder, Gentler Push for Metric Inches Along" (Science Times, June 4) leaves a false impression of the status of metrication in the United States.

The idea that customary units are more "natural" than metric units is nonsense. The meter is almost the same length as the old English yard-and-a-half ell, as well as a number of other historical units freely chosen by those who used them.

The key distinction between the customary and metric systems lies not in the absolute size of their units but in metric's use of decimal multiples (for example, kilo-) and submultiples (such as milli-).

In the debate that occurred in America about 100 years ago the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems were articulated quite well. The big advantage customary units have over metric units is that they lend themselves more easily to fractional division, especially repeat-

ed halving, which is convenient in many trades.

This advantage has lost some importance because a smaller proportion of today's jobs involve measuring and manipulating materials. At the same time a major disadvantage of the metric system has been overcome by a change in the average person's mathematical baggage. Today many people work with decimal fractions much more easily than with common fractions, thanks in part to electronic calculators.

It is significant that your example of high-tech use of customary units is the space station, while the state-

ment decrying the slow speed of metrication comes from an official of the American Automobile Manufacturing Association. The former is a taxpayer-financed project of the Government of the only country not using the metric system; the latter depend on sales in a global market.

From Babylon to now, the primary way systems of units spread is through trade; government fiat plays a secondary role. Congress didn't act on George Washington's three appeals for a weights and measures law, and it's doubtful Bill Clinton (or anyone else) could get metric made compulsory, thank goodness. Our system has not required legislative reform for 200 years because, unlike France or even England, we began with a system that was pretty good and pretty uniform across the country, and it has been intelligently tweaked by administrative action.

In contrast, in 1790 both royalty and revolutionaries recognized that French weights and measures were a mess, a major drag on industrialization. Now we're debating whether our use of customary measures is a drag on marketing our manufactures to the rest of the world. But it is what American consumers buy that is bringing the metric system to this country.

JOHN LORD
Santa Monica, Calif., June 5, 1996
The writer is the author of "Sizes," a book on units of weight and measure.

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Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Bottomless And Topless

It has always been popular to bash the press. But lately things have been getting out of hand, everyone blaming us for everything. The complaints are bottomless — and in one case, topless. "I think there's a liberal bias," Bob Dole told ABC, saying the press had treated him unfairly. "There's no liberal bias," James Carville told Playboy, saying the press had treated President Clinton unfairly. "There's sort of a bad-news bias." Newt Gingrich penitently closed down the Government because he wasn't treated well enough on Air Force One, but attributes his unpopularity to media "density." Representative Wes Cooley, the Oregon Republican who was caught in a tangle of false-claims about his marriage, Korean war record and business, held a news conference and waved around the National Enquirer headline "Michael and Lisa Marie's Secret Baby," making some befuddled point about liberal media bias. Mr. Cooley not only threatened to "whip" a female reporter who was six months pregnant; he accused another reporter from The Oregonian, Doug Bates, of killing his 85-year-old aunt. Death by interview. "Mr. Bates badgered her unbelievably and she died," the Congressman said. John Lehman blames an overeager press for reports of the Navy's unbecoming conduct. It is true that Mr. Lehman can recognize overagerness; Gregory Visvaca's new book on the Navy, "Fall From Glory," opens with a ribald scene at

A dark media conspiracy.

the 1986 Tailhook convention with Mr. Lehman, Secretary of the Navy in the Reagan Administration, under a naked dancing woman, surrounded by a crowd of admiring flybys. But the press doesn't need to hype stories about the Navy and the Naval Academy when those institutions are struggling with such scandals as sexual harassment, sexual assault, larceny, cheating and drug use. The Vatican is blaming the media for promoting a "climate of permissiveness" that erodes marriage. O. J. Simpson says he has been "victimized" by racist and inaccurate reporting. "There's nobody out there checking the media," he says. Marcia Clark says she was victimized by reporters paying too much attention to her hair and clothes. She did not, however, reject the \$4.2 million book advance she received, thanks to the flashy press buildup. One could make a case that the losing prosecutor should have spent less time prancing and primping. She gave firing on the job a bad name. Alan Dershowitz said on CNN that she told defense lawyers: "When you're making your arguments, I want you to bear in mind one thing: I'm not wearing any underwear." (That only works for Sharon Stone.) There's even a trend toward retroactively blaming the press. Robert McNamara, in an interview aired recently on C-Span, argued that the media's "sadly deficient" foreign coverage was one reason top Washington officials were not sophisticated about other nations' thinking. He said a major lesson of Vietnam was "know your opponent." Wouldn't you have assumed that the Defense Secretary pushing our young men into war in a jungle halfway around the world would use the vast diplomatic resources available to him to learn something about his opponent? And I always thought the press helped stop that awful war. Astonishingly, Mr. McNamara also admitted last week that he has "not read" his own Pentagon Papers, which showed that the Government knew early on that we were losing the war but refused to admit it. "I have the copies in my garage and I haven't looked at it to this day," he said. Now people calling themselves "public journalists" make a career denouncing us unpublic journalists. They say we're cynics. (In fact, we're stoics.) Perhaps the unkindest cut came in a recent New York Post story on Claudia Schiffer. "Because of the media glare," it revealed, "for the first time in her life, Claudia Schiffer wears a bikini top at the beach." When you get Bob Dole and Claudia Schiffer agreeing on the media, you're deep in the throes of a conspiracy theory. And now that KAOS, Smersh, the K.G.B. and the Trilateral Commission have been discredited as the sources of dark plots, maybe the only candidate for evil genius is... me! O.K., O.K., it's all my fault. I can't help myself. It's my profession. And I'm going to keep at it, because this is what keeps me and my fellow pathological truth-tellers alive. Nobody is safe.

America's Rush To Suburbia

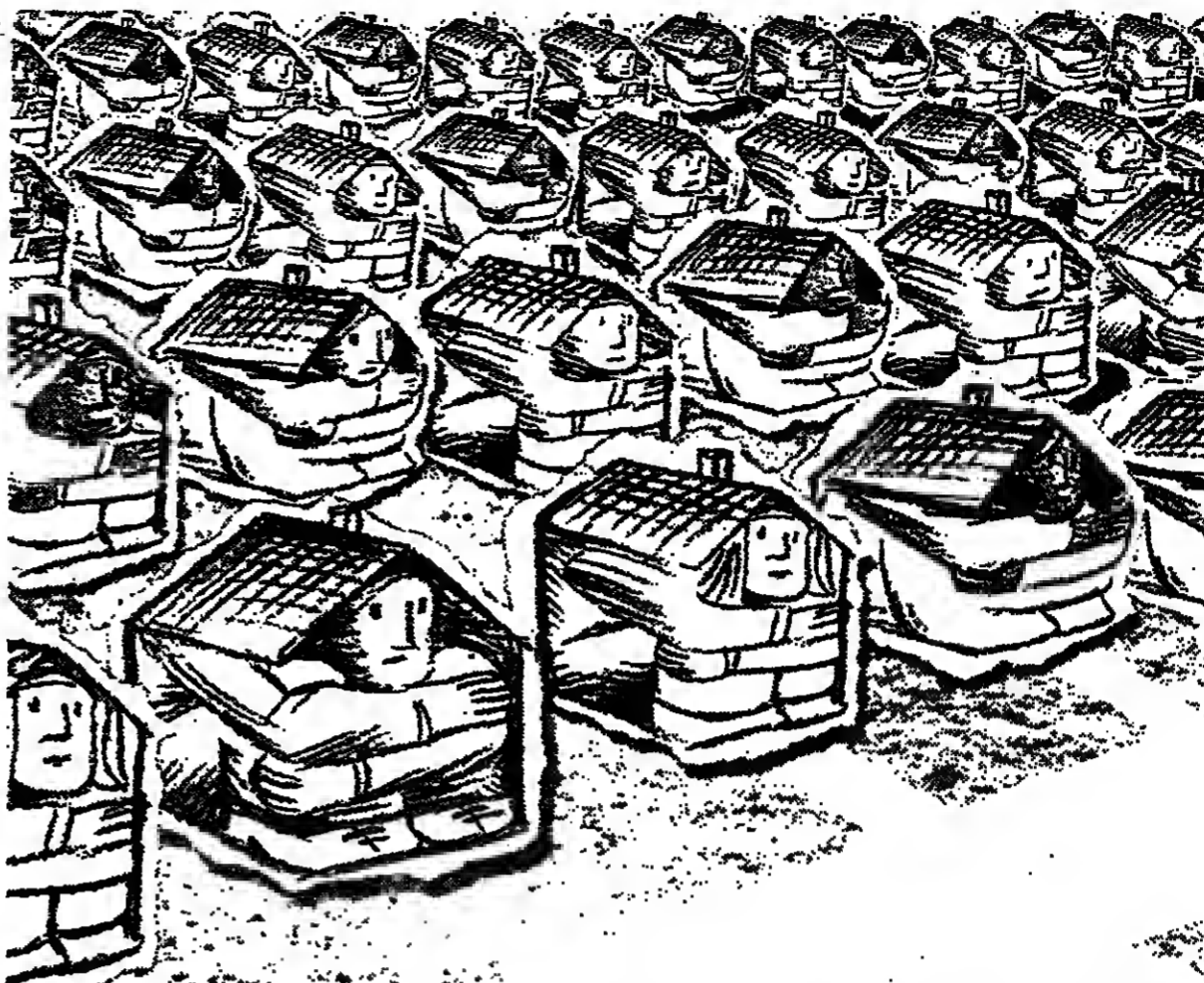
By Kenneth T. Jackson

This week in Istanbul, experts from around the globe are attending a United Nations conference on urbanization. The timing is propitious, because in the next few years the world will pass a historic milestone. For the first time, half the earth's population, or more than three billion people, will be living in cities. At the turn of the century, only 14 percent of us called a city home and just 11 places on the planet had a million inhabitants. Now there are 400 cities with populations of at least one million and 20 megacities of more than 10 million. But while cities around the world are becoming more dense, those in the United States are moving in the opposite direction. The typical model here is a doughnut — emptiness and desolation at the center and growth on the edges. Many of the great downtown department stores — including Hudson's in Detroit and Goldsmith's in Memphis — are now closed. Meanwhile, new megamalls, discount centers and factory outlets are springing up every day on the peripheries of America's cities. Though some cities are still thriving, of the 25 largest cities in 1950, 18 have lost population. For example, from 1950 to 1990, Baltimore lost 22 percent of its population; Philadelphia 23 percent; Chicago 25 percent; Boston 28 percent; Detroit 44 percent; and Cleveland 45 percent. (It's true that many cities — Houston, San Diego, Dallas and Phoenix, among them — have grown since 1950, but that is largely because they have annexed their outlying territories. New York City, unique as always, has the same number of people, although its boundaries are unchanged.) By contrast, during the same period, the suburbs gained more than 75 million people. In 1990, our nation became the first in history to have more suburbanites than city and rural dwellers combined.

Kenneth T. Jackson, a professor of history at Columbia University, is editor of "The Encyclopedia of New York City" and author of "Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States."

Why should Americans care whether Portland, Me., or Portland, Ore., is losing inhabitants? Because our system of governance balkanizes social responsibility in our country, a nation divided by race and income. Only in America are schools, police and fire protection and other services financed largely by local taxes. When middle- and upper-class families flee from the cities, they take with them needed tax revenues. In Europe, Australia and Japan, such functions are essentially the responsibility of national or at least regional governments. In any of these places, moving from a city to a suburb does not have much impact on a citizen's taxes or on the quality of services.

Americans tend to regard a move to the suburbs as natural — even inevitable — when people are given choices about where to live. But in fact the pattern arises not because land is abundant and cheap (which it is) and not because we have racial and economic divides (which we do) but largely because we have made a series of public policy decisions that other countries have not made. First, the tax code allows us to deduct mortgage interest and property taxes for both first and second homes. Most other advanced nations do not allow this. Second, gasoline is essentially not taxed in this country. The 12-country European Union, which has fewer vehicles on the road than the United States does, takes in more than five times as much in gasoline taxes as America does. Our gasoline is cheap compared to that in other advanced industrialized nations, so living in the suburbs, without public transportation, is an attractive option. Third, the United States has long had a policy, unique in the developed world, of making the provision of public housing voluntary. For the most part, communities across the country can choose to apply — or not — for public housing. The result of this is that the central cities have become the homes of the poor while the suburbs have become places to escape the poor. By contrast, the French, British, Germans and Japanese spread public housing around. Indeed, in many countries a demonstrably higher proportion of public housing units go to the periphery than to central city



Milan Trenc

Tax, housing and gasoline policies doom our cities.

— and this discourages middle-class urban flight. Finally, in the United States, government at all levels has affected cities by what it has not done. In Europe, land is regarded as a scarce resource that has to be controlled in the public interest rather than exploited for private gain. Thus, governments have acted to preserve open space and deter suburban sprawl. There are other policies, too, that work against urban areas in the United States, but the larger point is clear: American cities operate under a series of unusual handicaps. St. Louis offers an extreme example of the consequences of all this. Once the fourth largest city in the nation, the so-called Gateway to the West has become a ghost of its for-

mer self. In 1950, it had 857,000 people; by 1990, the population had dwindled to 397,000. Many of its old neighborhoods have become despoiled collections of eviscerated homes and vacant lots. Aging warehouses and grimy loft factories are now open to the sky; weeds cover once busy railroad sidings. Will the experience of St. Louis, become typical of other cities in the 21st century? In recent years, such prominent authors as Paul Hawken, John Naisbitt and Alvin Toffler have predicted that cities are doomed and that new telecommunications have made human interaction unnecessary. In the future, they suggest, our journey to work will be from the breakfast table to the home computer. There, in splendid isolation, we will work, shop and play in cyberspace. Perhaps the futurists are correct, and the cities of our time, like conquered Carthage, will be razed and sowed with salt. But I doubt it. It is more likely that New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston and a dozen or so other places will remain great cities well into the next millennium, despite government policies that cripple them.

That's because the same catalytic mixing of people that creates urban problems and fuels urban conflict also spurs the initiative, innovation and collaboration that taken together move civilization forward. Quite simply, metropolitan centers are the most complex creations of the human mind, and they will not easily yield their roles as marketplaces of ideas. Cities are places where individuals of different bents and pursuits rub shoulders, where most human achievements have been created. Whereas village and rural life, as well as life in the modern shopping mall, is characterized by the endless repetition of similar events, cities remain centers of diversity and opportunity. If they express some of the worst tendencies of modern society, they also represent much of the best. As Charles E. Merriam, a professor at the University of Chicago, told the United States Conference of Mayors in 1934: "The trouble with Lot's wife was that she looked backward and saw Sodom and Gomorrah. If she had looked forward, she would have seen that heaven is also a pitched as a city."

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Bigger Isn't Better

WASHINGTON — Bob Dole and Bill Clinton have begun trying to outbid each other over who will expand NATO faster, in a naked effort to court votes from Americans of Eastern European origin. In one of his last acts as a senator, Mr. Dole, accompanied by visiting Polish dignitary Lech Walesa, introduced a bill that would compel the Administration to speed NATO's expansion to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, which Mr. Clinton vows to do but at a more cautious pace. Now, it's always nice to see Mr. Dole and Mr. Clinton agreeing on a major foreign policy initiative — but not when they're both wrong. And on this one they're both wrong. NATO expansion is a bad idea. The NATO expanders argue that after the cold war a strategic vacuum exists in the heart of Europe, between Germany and Russia, and if NATO doesn't fill it, an inherently expansionist Russia will. The NATO expan-

nuclear and conventional forces in Europe in a way that reduced or eliminated offensive weapons, while emphasizing defensive weapons. This combination of newly liberated states and newly restructured armed forces, says Mr. Mandelbaum, eliminates the main motive for going to war in Central Europe and sharply reduces the means — thereby accomplishing precisely what an expanded NATO is supposed to do: prevent a Russian attack. But what if the Communists win in Russia and start making aggressive noises? Well, that would be unfortunate, but Russia is not the Soviet Union. Indeed, the collapse of the Soviet Union, Mr. Mandelbaum argues, is central to this new security structure because the Soviet Union was a unique machine for producing military power. "It is not that the Soviet Union had a military industrial complex," argues Mr. Mandelbaum. "It was a military industrial complex." Only a centrally planned Soviet system could devote 30 percent of G.N.P. to military spending, and without that system, Russia cannot field the Soviet-style military might that once dominated Europe. As for those who say NATO expansion is needed to promote democracy in Central Europe, Mr. Mandelbaum counters that democracy there is not threatened and, if it were, the European Union, an economic/political institution, would be the more appropriate vehicle for saving it. Besides, if NATO is a tool for democracy promotion it should be expanded first to Russia and Ukraine, where democracy is shakier and the stakes higher. The truth is we already have the only security order we need in Europe. The best way to destabilize it would be to expand NATO. Such a move would undercut the democratic reformers in Moscow, strengthen the hard-line nationalists, possibly prompt Russia to back away from the arms control agreements and certainly encourage Russia to view Central Europe as a new threat. For what? For a few ethnic votes in Ohio? A continuing U.S. presence in Europe is important, and NATO is the best vehicle for that presence. So the world needs NATO, but not more NATO. What it needs more of is T-I-M-E — time for the arms control treaties to become even more embedded, time for the states of Central and Eastern Europe to become stronger and time for Russia to adjust itself to both and to find its way toward democracy.

Don't expand NATO.

ders also argue that the best way to consolidate the new democracies in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic is to bring them into NATO. Next month, Prof. Michael Mandelbaum, of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, will publish a highly original and provocative book, "The Dawn of Peace in Europe," that demolishes these arguments. Mr. Mandelbaum argues that no strategic vacuum exists in Europe for NATO to fill. To the contrary, he explains, a new, highly desirable security system has taken root there, but no one has noticed. What is that system? First are the political revolutions of 1989-91, which ended the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. They not only eliminated the major standing cause of war in that region — the oppressive Soviet occupation — but gave birth to a new set of independent, democratic states west of Russia. These states, from Ukraine to Bulgaria, would not be easily overrun by a Russian Army that cannot take Chechnya. Second are the arms control agreements concluded between Washington and Moscow in the early 1990's, which required both sides to restructure their

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F I L M

Bernardo Bertolucci Proves You Can Go Home Again

By ALAN RIDING

AFTER completing his ninth feature film in 1981, Bernardo Bertolucci decamped from Italy, disillusioned with the terrorism and corruption that were eating away at his native land. He felt he could no longer live in — or believe in — a country that tolerated violence and worshiped money. He kept homes in both Rome and London but, as an artist, he was eager to turn his back on Europe, preferring to set his next three films — "The Last Emperor," "The Sheltering Sky" and "Little Buddha" — in Asia and North Africa.

Older, rounder and certainly more mellow, Mr. Bertolucci, now 55, returned home last summer to make "Stealing Beauty," his first film shot in Italy in 15 years. He felt able to do so, he said, because recent Italian anti-corruption campaigns had changed things for the better. But he also worried that he had lost touch with Italy. So, rather than tackling an Italian subject head on, he chose to tell the story of a group of foreigners, including several expatriate Britons and a beautiful young American woman, who are spending a Henry Jamesian summer in a hillside villa in Tuscany.

"I didn't announce that I was coming back to Italy," Mr. Bertolucci said during a visit to Cannes, where "Stealing Beauty" was in competition at the film festival. "I went tiptoeing almost through the back door. I wanted to make a small film, a film with lightness. And I was able to identify with this cosmopolitan group. I was not an Italian. I was in disguise. I was seeing Italy through the eyes of a foreigner. I wanted to learn how to see Italy again after all these years."

The film, which opens on Friday, stands out for its simplicity because so often before Mr. Bertolucci has opted for the grandiose or polemical in his movies. "Stealing Beauty" is a quiet film from a man accustomed to stirring commotion.

"The release of a new Bertolucci film has always been something special for me, a great event," said the director Martin Scorsese, who has not yet seen "Stealing Beauty." "I remember the effect 'Before the Revolution' had on me the first time I saw it. It changed the way I looked at movies. For me, he's the only modern director whose work I view in the same way as the old masters, like Hitchcock or Ford, whose work I want to live with the way one lives with a piece of music."

In Mr. Bertolucci's early political movies like "Before the Revolution" (1965), he took sides, undisguisedly identifying with peasants and workers trying to resist suffocation by capitalism. He set out to shock in 1973 with "Last Tango in Paris," and he succeeded, with the film banned in Italy and frowned on elsewhere for its sexually explicit scenes between Marlon Brando and Maria Schneider (scenes that even today look daring). Finally, with his recent films like "The Sheltering Sky" and "The Last Emperor," he challenged Hollywood's monopoly over epic movies. (The latter film won nine Oscars.)

But now, for what is only his 13th film, in a career that began in 1962, Mr. Bertolucci has paused, as if to reflect on middle age.

The Italy that he chose to portray in "Stealing Beauty" is the bucolic region between Florence and Siena that has been dubbed Chianti since the many Britons who flock to its medieval villas and olive groves, where they anticipate a lifetime of long, lazy lunches. Mr. Bertolucci, whose previous Italian films were set in Rome and the Po Valley, was himself discovering this "foreign" Tuscany and soon saw its appeal.

"These people on the top of the hill are protected from the vulgarity of the world by a kind of invisible Chinese wall of beauty," he said.

In his mind, the expatriates have "stolen" the beauty of the Italian countryside for themselves. The other "stolen beauty" in the movie is Lucy, the American teen-ager, played by Liv Tyler, whose innocence and virginity excite and disturb the jaded adults of the villa. Mr. Bertolucci is tempted to say, in the

manner of Flaubert, that "Lucy, c'est moi," because he clearly identifies with the character.

"I felt such a need to renew myself," he said, speaking in English, with occasional sorties into French and Italian. "Then I thought, what about a virgin. Why not? Because I wanted to be a virgin coming back to Italy."

Yet in other ways the film is not about Italy. As a director, Mr. Bertolucci has always liked to push back horizons — politically in movies like "Before the Revolution," "The Spider's Stratagem," "The Conformist" and "1900"; morally in "Last Tango in Paris" and "Luna" (1979), which touches on incest, and geographically and visually in his last three movies. Now he has looked for more personal horizons to explore: sexual initiation, middle-age nostalgia for innocence and the mirror of death. In that sense, "Stealing Beauty" could have been set in the Hamptons.

Susan Minot, the 39-year-old American novelist who wrote the screenplay, recalled that Mr. Bertolucci's original idea consisted of two sentences: "A young American or

The director returned to an Italy he had never known and to an age he had nearly forgotten.

English girl goes to Tuscany to visit English expatriates. She is on a mission to lose her virginity."

For Ms. Minot, this did not suffice. "That's a mission easily accomplished, if that's the only mission," she said, speaking from New York. "The story had to be more complicated than that. Because there is so little happening dramatically, there had to be something to keep you curious."

In the film, Lucy comes to visit an English sculptor, Ian (Donal McCann), and his wife, Diana (Sinéad Cusack), old friends of Lucy's poet mother, who has recently committed suicide. Lucy has been invited to sit for Ian, but at the age of 19 she is more interested in finding Nicolo, a handsome young Italian who kissed her four years earlier.

Tall, beautiful, unsophisticated, she promptly changes the chemistry at the villa. Ian works at night for the first time in years ("There's a virgin in the house," one guest remarks). And Alex (Jeremy Irons), a dying writer, comes alive to muse over how Lucy will lose her virginity.

Lucy, though, has yet another mission: to decode a poem left by her mother that will help her identify her own father.

Ms. Minot said her greatest service to Mr. Bertolucci was that of "getting into the mind" of a young American woman. "I didn't want to create a character who had a real handle on the manipulative power of her beauty," the writer said. "I wanted a character who was bold at moments, shy at others."

Mr. Bertolucci said he had imagined Lucy as both girl and woman and that he found both qualities in Ms. Tyler. "Liv was 17 when we started shooting, and she had her 18th birthday on location," he recalled. "I was lucky to steal that moment of growing up, when she was still clumsy with her hands and arms and legs, in the way she walked. Adorable."

Mr. Irons, who is married to Ms. Cusack, said he enjoyed his first experience of working with Mr. Bertolucci. "He told me he wanted to make a film about nothing happening," Mr. Irons said by telephone from London, "and of course that's terribly difficult. He had a pretty clear idea of what he wanted, but the story evolved as we were shooting. Bernardo was a wonderful mixture of child and grand opera character,

but always with enormous charm."

After the ambitious scope, historical sweep and exotic settings of Mr. Bertolucci's last three films, "Stealing Beauty" was planned as something of a respite. (The film's budget, under \$15 million, was also a retreat from his last film, "Little Buddha," which cost \$35 million.)

"I had a great orchestra before. I wanted this to be chamber music, a quartet," he said. For this, he recruited a new team behind the camera, replacing his usual director of photography, Vittorio Storaro, with Dariusz Kholodji, whose recent credits include "Seven" and the forthcoming "Evita."

"The aim of this film is lightness, but Vittorio shoots with very strong opinions," Mr. Bertolucci said. "Dariusz reminded me of Vittorio when we were all young."

"Stealing Beauty," like most of Mr. Bertolucci's films, has provoked conflicting opinions from European critics. Released in Italy in April, the film was an immediate hit, which reassured the director, who was anxious to be welcomed home. French critics, though, expressed disappointment, and at Cannes some of them dubbed the film "Sleeping Beauty." Writing in the left-of-center daily newspaper, Libération, Olivier Séguret said "Stealing Beauty" was Mr. Bertolucci's "most personal, affectionate and dreamy film" yet somehow lacked inspiration.

Nigel Andrews of The Financial Times of London was more generous. "For the first time since 'Luna,' his sensuality of style serves meaning not spectacle, poetry not the merely picturesque," he wrote.

"Stealing Beauty," however, is a turning point in Mr. Bertolucci's career. It marks his return to Italy as a film maker, and it has given him contact, once again, with young people, which proved particularly important. The director, who is married to Clare Peploe (an English writer and director) and has no children, said that above all he was struck by how today's youths seem to lack political and social awareness.

"I felt great tenderness for them," he said. "But the problem is that they have no historical memory." And from that observation was born his next movie.

Having planned to make a sequel to "1900," picking up the story of Italy's class struggle in 1945 and carrying it through to the end of the century, Mr. Bertolucci has decided instead to "look at today's youth through the student movement that rocked the United States and Western Europe in 1968."

"I want today's kids to meet the kids of 1968," he explained. "I want them to discover there was something of intense value, a dreaming of a utopia. Today, everything is connected to consumerism, with money, with property, with what you wear. There is no more ideology."

In looking back romantically to 1968, however, Mr. Bertolucci is also recognizing the failure of leftists like himself to create a different future. The son of a prominent poet, Attilio Bertolucci, Mr. Bertolucci was brought up in an intellectual environment in Rome. He did his bit for "the cause" in 1969 by joining the Italian Communist Party, which had strong roots among Italian workers. He also denounced the "snobbery" of intellectual friends who had become Maoists and who, in some cases, opted for terrorism with the Red Brigades. Yet 10 years later, he left the party.

"I wasn't a good militant," he recalled. "I was very individualistic. I felt that I was a film maker more than a politician." By then, he was also growing disenchanted with Italy.

He was filming "The Sheltering Sky" in the desert of North Africa when the Berlin wall came down in November 1989. "I had very mixed emotions at the time," he said. "I didn't want to deny what I had done in the past. I had believed in the Italian Communist Party, which was very different from other Communist parties. But I also understood more strongly than ever that for my individual self-gratification at being a Communist, millions of people had had to suffer. So I also felt it was great that it had come to an end."

To this day, he said, he remains an idealist — and, by that, he means a leftist. And he is cheered by the fact that the general election this spring has given Italy its first left-of-center Government, which includes former Communists as ministers. But he is skeptical that Italy can change drastically.

"I think, O.K., we have sent a few politicians and industrialists to jail for corruption," he said, "but we were all part of the corruption. We elected those people to Parliament. Which of us has not paid a bribe to avoid some bureaucratic headache?"

Still, he is happy to have returned to Italy. "Every film I have made has corresponded to a very special moment of my life," he said. "I like to think that if someone wanted to reconstruct the story of my life, they can just see my movies and know what I have been through."



Bernardo Bertolucci directing "Stealing Beauty" in Tuscany—This time, playing with a quartet rather than a full orchestra.

CONTINENTAL DIVIDE

BY MATT GAFFNEY / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

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21	Fine																			
22	Kind of layer																			
23	With 117-Across, what the answers to the italicized clues have in common																			
25	"Chapter Two" playwright																			
26	Shot																			
27	Former capital of Nicaragua																			
28	Novelist Rand																			
29	Luna's counterpart																			
31	Knock-knock joke, essentially																			
32	Protrude, in a way																			
34	Connective tissues																			
36	View along the highway																			
40	Make one two																			
42	Stevie Wonder's "My Cherie"																			
43	Atheist leader																			
45	Ballot marks																			
46	The All-wise, of myth																			
48	Steakhouse orders																			
50	Madonna album																			
52	Exhausts																			
54	M.D. spots																			
55	Eponymous Dutch town																			
57	Recital pieces																			
59	Schoenberg's "to Napoleon"																			
60	Speech help																			
63	Free TV commercials, for short																			
64	"Rescue 911" host																			
67	Grammy winner Etheridge																			
69	Makes straight																			
71	Flambé																			
74	Milk product																			
76	Cultivated																			
80	Actress Hagen																			
81	Car front																			
83	Manuel piece																			
84	Cole Porter, collegially																			
85	Noted Big Apple restaurant																			
88	Time for "Today"																			
90	Paint variety																			
93	Farmer, sometimes																			
94	Painter Gerard Borch																			
95	— Strait (waterway bordering Japan)																			
97	As good as new																			
98	Cuban resort city																			
101	Mountain demarcation																			
103	Month's start																			
105	Kind of advice																			
107	Snitch																			
108	It may be used in a rubout																			
109	Chemical suffix																			
110	Rise																			
111	"Ooh" lollower																			
115	Oval																			
117	See 23-Across																			
121	Construction support																			
122	Racing, as pacers																			
123	Catherine the Great, e.g.																			
124	"The Glass Bead Game" novelist																			
125	Handout sign																			
126	Prokofiev's "War"																			

- 24 Classic "S.N.L." characters
- 30 Agatha Christie's "N"
- 32 Present
- 33 Sony co-founder
- 34 Three-time Masters winner
- 35 Subject of Cyaxares
- 36 Boca —
- 37 —Latin (ancient Italian)
- 38 Plug
- 39 Arch Deluxe part
- 41 Let go
- 44 Itinerary segs.
- 47 Fully exposed
- 48 Steadiness, in a way
- 51 "Try — see!"
- 52 Led (in)
- 53 A shot
- 56 Less interesting
- 58 "Corno" —
- 61 Popular record label
- 62 Disney collectible
- 63 Pope, 1605-21
- 65 "So?"
- 66 China's Lao —
- 68 Cornea neighbor
- 70 Trojan War king
- 71 Au — (menu phrase)
- 72 Karl Malone's team
- 73 Instruments with aneroid cells
- 75 Szech —
- 77 "Forbidden Paradise" star, 1924
- 78 ABC sitcom
- 79 Electron tube type
- 82 Jolson's " — My Thousand Isles"
- 83 Marbelize, e.g.
- 86 Kind of ear
- 87 Water
- 89 Denial of a sort
- 91 " — in the Dark" (Streep film)
- 92 Gertrude's 1951 Broadway co-star
- 94 Envision victory
- 96 Kidnaps
- 99 Where a pct. of one's income may go
- 100 Famous
- 102 Westernmost Texas county
- 103 Criticize severely
- 104 "Ah Sin" playwright
- 106 Glossy proof
- 108 Baghdad's land: Var.
- 111 Italian cabbage
- 112 Working
- 113 Turner of the screen
- 114 Lament for Yorick
- 116 Greek consonants
- 118 Spanish article
- 119 Seemingly forever income may go
- 120 Long shot?

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

S	T	I	E	R	A	S	P	A	C	E	S	I	E	S	I	E
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

National Defense College becoming a must for top brass

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

THE IDF is flaunting its National Defense College as an exclusive academic institution where senior security officials tapped for high commands are exposed to the best minds and able to expand their own intuitions to meet the complex demands of leadership.

The 10-month program concentrates on national security and, in conjunction with Haifa University, awards a MA in political science.

But some academics and civil servants see it as a military fast-track measure providing fast-track degrees to graduates who come up short when compared to their civilian peers.

The IDF maintains its college is specifically tailored for those intending to make an extended career in the military or security service. It is also seen as "bait" to entice mid-level officers to stay in the IDF instead of seeking their fortunes in the outside world.

But, more than that, in the late 20th century higher academic degrees, while not a written rule, are becoming de rigueur for promotion to the top echelon. The army likes to show that its senior officers are educated as the intricacies of warfare increase.

Located south of Herzliya in a comfortable but staid surrounding, the college is currently teaching 37 candidates. About two-thirds of them are IDF officers; the rest come from the General Security Service, Mossad, police and Foreign Ministry. One student is the former ambassador to Ethiopia. Four are women. All the IDF students are personally approved by the chief of staff.

COL. YISRAEL ZIV came straight to the course after winding up a paratrooper brigade exercise. "I literally came from the field

to here," the stocky 38-year-old paratrooper brigade commander said.

Seven months into the course, Ziv said he has no regrets about attending. But he admitted he had hesitations initially that the degree may not be equal to one obtained in a university.

"I'm convinced now that the academic and practical value is much, much more than I could have received in any university," Ziv said. "This is a military institution. But it meets all the academic criteria."

NDC Commander Maj.-Gen. Yitzhak Brik said even though the MA degree granted is in political science, there is no comparable program in any university in Israel. The IDF's General Staff and Command College - also part of "Michtalot," the IDF branch responsible for the NDC - offers two programs for junior-level officers, but they concentrate on tactics, not strategy. Brik maintained his program is better than anything offered by the universities because none of their programs focus on national security.

Brik said the main difference is that the universities tend to give a general view of the topic while his school examines national security from a variety of perspectives.

"None can go into the depth we go into. Or bring the people we bring [to lecture]. Our students are very special, they have a high security clearance so they can be exposed to a depth that can't be done in any university. What is said here remains here and does not leave," Brik said.

As an example, he cited tours of factories and lectures on developing technology and conventional and non-conventional weapons.

"Even here there is a line which we cannot cross," he acknowledged, "but it is much more than

one can get at a regular university."

Graduates include former GSS head Karmi Gillon, Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Deputy Chief of Staff Maj.-Gen. Matan Vilnai, Yigal Carmon, former adviser to the prime minister on anti-terrorism, and many of the current general staff.

MARTIN VAN CREVELD, a professor of military history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and author of *The Training of Officers*, said the IDF is going through a transformation since it has not fought a serious

war in over a generation.

"What is happening in the IDF is that it is changing into a peacetime army," Van Creveld said. This caused a transformation in the criteria for promotion, he explained. Once success on the battlefield was enough. Now academic excellence and the number of degrees are vital parts of the criteria.

Ziv said he believes that no brigadier or divisional commander today should be without a MA.

"There is no doubt that the era is different now. Battalion commanders who don't feel they have

a commander who has that level of tactical and strategic training may have a problem. And that problem manifests itself in the identification with the commander's decision," Ziv said.

"Traditionally the army has been chasing Arabs," Van Creveld said. "Now that they are running out of Arabs to chase they are slowly, hesitantly shifting to study as a criterion for promotion."

"Also you can't have a situation where the only [social] group which is in a commanding position which doesn't have a higher education are officers," he pointed out.

Brik said having a MA is not yet an official condition for promotion, but that it has become a de facto criterion.

"I always say that if you need seven years to become a doctor, or that an accountant and engineer need to study for four years, then look at what a military man is dealing with. They are running weapons systems, responsible for personnel. They have to be very professional. Experience [from the field] is great, but you wouldn't ask a field doctor to perform heart surgery, would you?" Brik said.

However, Van Creveld said the army "crammed" its officers and the degrees they received were "semi-gratis."

Brik defended the academic level of the NDC. "The year of work here is equivalent to two to three years in regular studies. There are over 1,000 hours of class time. When you examine it, they don't learn any less than regular studies, either in the work or the classroom hours," Brik said. "There are tests and there are grades. They get grades like everywhere else."

Ziv said the reason none of his classmates have failed is that "none of those kinds of people get here."

Still, an official in the Civil Service who deals with retired senior military officers said general academic degrees were not necessarily grabbed up in the civilian marketplace.

"Employers tell me that the [NDC degree-holders] are given less respect than their civilian counterparts and that some are actually unqualified despite their paper degrees," said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

ONE REASON the army maintains the NDC is that it is the cheapest way to keep a surplus of senior officers on hand, should a

war break out, some argue.

"It doesn't require a command, just a cubicle and a professor like myself," Van Creveld said.

The IDF says it spares no expense on the NDC, and Brik said it is an expensive program to run, though he declined to give figures.

"We bring the best lecturers in every field, from academia, the prime minister, ministers, researchers, economy, infrastructure, and from the top level in the State of Israel. They are glad to come here," Brik said.

He also noted that Palestinian leaders - such as chief negotiator and Palestinian Authority Minister Nabil Shaath - have lectured, as has Israeli-Arab Ahmed Tibi, who is one of PA Chairman Yasser Arafat's closest advisers.

Brik dismissed the notion that a military-run college is incestuous and close-minded. He noted that all the candidates had previous exposure in the outside world when they received their BA.

"The army is not a closed thing. Officers have great exposure to civilian elements. We don't have to turn him into a civilian to make him a good officer," Brik said.

In addition, the college presents the students, most of whom are in their late 30s, with an opportunity for forming bonds that can be used for future "old boy" networking.

This has its pluses and minuses, Ziv said, explaining, "it's very serious. The weight load is heavy and the competition is great. There is no intimacy. When I finish here my grade will be known to the army."

Nevertheless, Ziv appeared to be the NDC's greatest supporter. He said the college is able to integrate current events - like Operation Grapes of Wrath - into a course on low-intensity conflict.

"Show me another institution where we could do this," Ziv said. "I feel like I win the whole kitty."



MEIR RONEN © 96

Cairo laments loss of green space

ONCE Cairo was a city of gardens, of shady riverfront paths and landscape architects imported from France. A brass band played every Friday at the wrought-iron bandstand in Ezbekiya Garden.

But like so many of the city's charms, the gardens have all but succumbed to the relentless pressures of population growth and urbanization. Even the banks of the Nile are mostly off limits - claimed for luxury hotels, restaurants, clubs and other private uses.

Lamented in newspaper articles and other forums, the destruction of Cairo's green space has lately become something of a political issue, winning even the attention of President Hosni Mubarak, who recently intervened to save a mango grove slated for development.

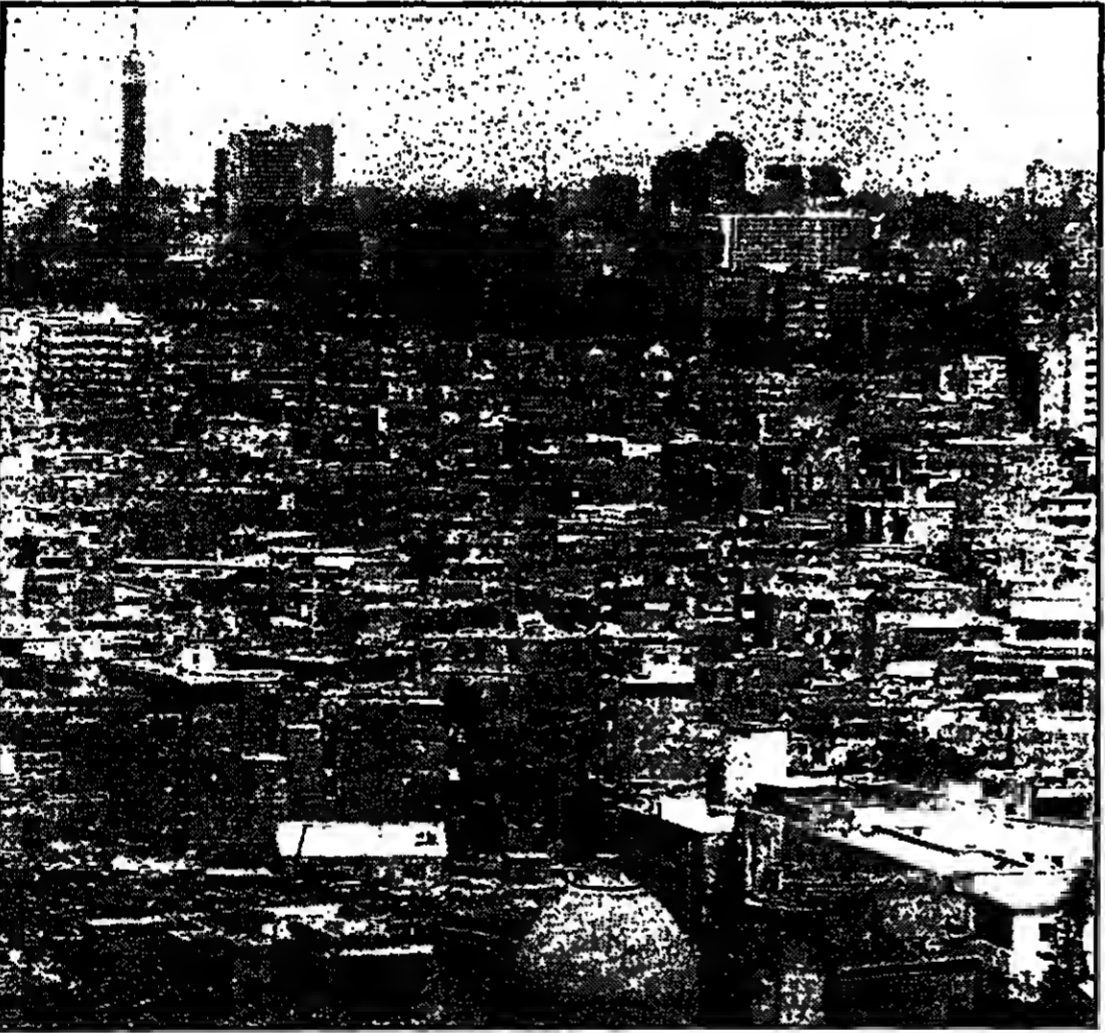
Such outcomes are rare, however. For those seeking relief from air pollution and crowds in this nerve-jangling city of 15 million, just finding a quiet spot to spread a picnic blanket can be an impossible task. Private clubs, the favored refuge of the rich, are beyond the financial reach of most residents; public parks typically charge a small admission and often are overrun.

The shortage is especially noticeable this time of year. Escaping stifling apartments in search of a cool evening breeze, residents gather on bridges and traffic circles - even the grassy median on the busy airport road, a site so popular that it draws vendors of tea and cotton candy.

So it was the other night, when Khalid Ali set up a small metal barbecue at the base of a palm tree on the median, seemingly oblivious to the roar of traffic and low-flying jets. "There are other places, but you have to pay money to get in," said Ali, 30, a clerk at a government ministry, as his wife and two small children frolicked nearby.

Besides, he added, "it's a large space, and the children are able to play with ease.... The houses are hot so we have to go out." Westerners often are amazed by such scenes. "It brings up the whole question of what is the nature of crowding," said Barbara Ibrahim, regional director of the Population Council and a longtime Cairo resident. "They just need a patch of grass, and the fact that cars are whizzing by 10 feet away doesn't seem to bother them, maybe because they've never known anything else."

Situated in the fertile Nile Valley and bathed in year-round



Cairo is one of the world's most overcrowded cities.

(Kenneth Fischer)

sunshine, Cairo is ideal for gardens, which have flourished here since pharaonic times. According to the semi-official *Al-Ahram* weekly, many of Cairo's gardens, or what remains of them, are a legacy of Khedive Ismail, a 19th-century ruler who sought to Europeanize the capital by recreating the formal landscapes of Paris's Bois de Boulogne, among other parks. Many such gardens were attached to palaces and barred to the public.

More recently, however, Cairo's green space acquired a populist tinge: Gamal Abdel Nasser, the leader of the 1952 rebellion that overthrew the monarchy, decreed that all citizens should have access to the Nile, and he ordered the British Embassy to surrender its river lawn and marina, among other measures.

But now the transformation of Cairo into one of the world's most desperately overcrowded cities has all but obliterated its inventory of green space. Some was taken for housing, hospitals, schools and roads. In the view of many critics, however, much was also lost to rampant commercial development and greed.

A recent study by the city's department of public works and water resources found that 90 percent of the Nile riverfront in Cairo has been taken over for commercial and private use, including exclusive clubs for military officers, police, judges and other government officials.

"It's preventing people from enjoying it," said Ahmed Fathi Khalifa, 26, as he and thousands of other Cairenes jostled for space one recent night on a newly built riverfront plaza, one

of the few public access points on the Nile.

Added Khalifa, a construction firm supervisor, "The Nile is something that should be owned by every Egyptian. It is the artery of life."

(The Washington Post)

Environmental protection for Antarctica stalled

ARGINIAN scientists did a first-class job of cleaning up an 80,000-liter oil spill in Antarctica before the fuel-soaked snow begins to melt during the summer.

Although there was no hope of removing all the oil spilled last July in Argentina's Maramba base, enough of it was recovered to prevent major pollution of the surrounding waterways and protect the unique wildlife of that continent.

Although mining has been banned for the next three decades, the overall plans to legislate protective measures for Antarctica's environment appear stalled.

In 1991, the 26 nations of the Antarctic Treaty adopted a first protocol that would impose stricter liabilities and restrictions on scientists, governments, tour operators and environmental groups. However, the protocol has not been enacted, because only 10 nations have ratified it. The new rules would "compel operators to exercise care of the Antarctic environment by making them financially responsible for any damage they cause," according to Rüdiger Wolfgram, an environmental lawyer at Heidelberg's Max Planck

EARTHLY CONCERNS

D'VORA BEN SHAUL

Institute who heads the negotiations. Under these proposals, anybody operating in Antarctica would have to carry full insurance protection against environmental damage and contribute to an environmental protection fund.

Those most concerned about these measures are not the governments themselves but the private companies operating tourist cruises to the area.

Some 8,000 people annually are currently visiting Antarctica. This number is expected to increase drastically in the near future, and it is these tourists who are hardest to control during their visit.

While scientific stations, environment study camps and government bases have a vested interest in obeying the laws to protect the environment because they are held responsible, tourists are often less concerned about a place they only visit and their carelessness can cause serious damage to the region's fragile ecosystem.

The saddest fact is that even if

governments do ratify these new protective measures, the tour companies have a loophole that will make it impossible to force them to rectify any damage caused by their passengers.

"They can simply register their vessels in another country which is not a signatory of the Antarctic Treaty, in which case they don't need to buy expensive environmental damage insurance or make contributions to a fund. There is apparently no way to force them to comply with regulations."

In fact, many of the 60 cruise ships visiting Antarctica already sail under flags of convenience. According to a study published by the Scott Polar Research Institute of Cambridge, 22 cruise ships were registered in Liberia, 13 in the Bahamas and three in Panama. There were also vessels from non-signatory nations, including Russia and Poland.

Scientists warn that if no way is found to control the activities of these cruise ships, then even the last unspoiled continent on the globe is doomed to face the serious depletions that we have already seen on all the others.

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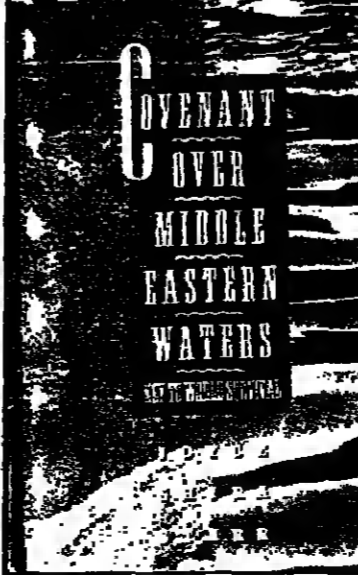
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BUSINESS & FINANCE

MONDAY, JUNE 10, 1996

Smith Barney to open Tel Aviv office

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

SMITH Barney, one of Wall Street's leading investment banks, is in the process of establishing a representative office here, company sources said yesterday.

The move is in line with the arrival of some other US investment banks here.

The firm has intentions to gradually expand its activities here, said Haim Ben-Shahar, a Tel Aviv University economics professor who has served as Smith Barney's local adviser during the last two years.

The first stage involves expansion of its capital finance services, especially the raising of capital for Israeli companies abroad. The second stage, which has only just started, involves operation of a risk management division.

The bank's Tel Aviv office will be managed by Joel Maryles, who has most recently served as the representative of US investment bank Furman Selz.

Ben-Shahar will continue to serve as an adviser and personally head the risk management division.

Ben-Shahar said the risk management division will provide services in the foreign currency, debt, and commodity markets. The division will operate in partnership with Smith Barney France, which serves as Smith Barney's Global risk management firm.

Referring to several local firms which already offer risk management services, Ben-Shahar said the new office will be unique because it will "offer a new technology and global activity," which will enable customers who contact the Tel Aviv office to be directly connected to the company's Paris outlet.

Since its arrival here two years ago Smith Barney has underwritten share offerings for Koor Industries, IMC, Tadiran Telecom and Technometix.

The decision to establish a more permanent presence coincides with a broader trend among American financial institutions to set foot in the Middle East by setting up shop in Tel Aviv.

Over the past year, Lehman Brothers, Citibank, Alex Brown, Prudential Securities and AIG have signed representation agreements with local financial institutions.

Smith Barney employs about 11,000 brokers, who manage more than five million customer accounts, making it the second largest investment bank on Wall Street.

In terms of transaction volume, Smith Barney was ranked third in the US last year, while in terms of market maker and trader in over-the-counter shares the bank was ranked first.

'Implementation of Netanyahu's economic ideas would be welcome'

Jerusalem Post Staff

ANY finance minister who would carry out Prime Minister-elect Binyamin Netanyahu's declared economic policies will win the encouragement and support of the nation's industrialists and business leaders, Manufacturers Association chairman Dan Propper said yesterday.

Apparently accepting the low probability of a national unity government - an idea he openly promoted last week - Propper, interviewed on Israel Radio, sounded eager to explore the new government's economic policies.

Propper's call for a national unity government had followed much of the business community's open and collective support for Shimon Peres on the eve of the elections.

Businessmen like Koor's Benny Gaon, Strauss Dairies' Michael Strauss and Chambers of Commerce Chairman Danny Gilerman publicly sided with Labor, saying it would better to advance the business-friendly peace process.

As for the new government's economic agenda, Propper reiterated industry's pre-election view that the national budget must be slashed by up to NIS 5 billion, thus reducing the fiscal deficit to some 2.5 percent, while the Bank of Israel should cut interest rates.

The budget cuts, he said, should focus on public-sector wages and other personnel related expenses.

Propper also called on Netanyahu to raise the Value Added Tax by one percentage point to help reduce the deficit.



American-Israel Paper Mills general manager Yaki Yerushalmi (right), Kimberly-Clark Europe president John Van Steenberg (center) and Clal Industries general manager David Winshel shake hands on the deal in which Kimberly-Clark bought 49.9 percent of Hogla. (Dan Osovsky/Israel Sun)

Kimberly-Clark Corp. purchases 49.9% of Hogla for \$49.9 million

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

THE US-based Kimberly-Clark Corp. (KCC) has purchased 49.9 percent of Hogla, a wholly owned subsidiary of American Israeli Paper Mills (AIPM), for \$49.9 million as part of a joint venture agreement.

The new venture, to be called Hogla-Kimberly, will be managed jointly by KCC and AIPM, which is a subsidiary of Clal Industries.

According to the agreement, Hogla, a leading local consumer products manufacturer, will bring its established sales, distribution network and market leadership to the agreement.

KCC has undertaken to transfer know-how to Hogla, including technological expertise in fibers, nonwovens and absorbency, in exchange for royalties. KCC will also give Hogla exclusive rights to produce and distribute its products here.

The Texas-based KCC is a world leader in tissue-based and personal care products. The Fortune-500 company recently merged with Scott Paper Company, increasing its annual sales volume to about \$14 billion. KCC's worldwide brands are sold in more than 150 countries, and include Kleenex, Scottex, Cottonelle, Kotex and Huggies.

Yaki Yerushalmi, general manager and CEO of AIPM, said the introduction of a world class strategic partner into Hogla will facilitate the broadening of Hogla's product range and enable access to KCC's advanced technologies, research and development, as well as its patents.

"All these will lead to quality improvement, increased efficiency and access to international markets," he said.

John Van Steenberg, president of Kimberly-Clark Europe, said the joint venture "will give us a base for further expansion of our consumer products businesses in the Middle East."

The companies have appointed KCC vice president Barry Tubbs as chairman of the board and Yerushalmi as vice chairman. Amos Shapira will continue to serve as general manager of the company.

The transaction price is based on Hogla's valuation of \$100m, which includes a tissue machine sold by AIPM to Hogla prior to the agreement. Lehman Brothers Tel Aviv office acted as investment bankers for AIP, and Focus Capital, owned by Meir Amon, assisted KCC.

The agreement remains subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Restrictive Trade Practices and other authorities.

Amot assessing fraud damage

Jerusalem Post Staff

AMOT Investments has appointed an internal comptroller to calculate the damage inflicted on the company, a subsidiary of the Bank Hapoalim group, following the alleged embezzlement of some NIS 30 million by its former accountant, Yosef Topol.

The company held a lengthy board of directors meeting yesterday to discuss the co-conspirators of the embezzlement and look into how to reduce the damage.

The meeting was held after the board hired the services of accountant Shlomo Ziv to examine

the episode. Meanwhile, sources in Amot said the company's insurance policy will cover the damages caused, with the exception of a self-participation fee of about \$500,000.

Amot general manager Zamir Sofer could not be reached for comment.

Last week Topol was remanded for eight days by the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court on suspicion he embezzled some NIS 30m. over a 10-year period.

According to police, Topol forged signatures and made checks out to family members.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Paper and paper-product prices are expected to rise 12 percent during the next few days following the sharp increase in cost of raw materials for the paper industry, Shlomo Muzman, chairman of the paper and paper-product division at the Manufacturers Association forecasted yesterday.

Cellulose prices in world markets shot up 10% last month to \$550 per ton, primarily as a result of high demand for paper in North America and Europe. The domestic paper market employs about 7,500 people and has an annual sales turnover of some \$1.3 billion. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

A new guide for tourists is being distributed this month by the Customs and VAT Department. The 24-page pamphlet gives information on visas, tax-exemptions, VAT refunds and details of customs houses throughout the country. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Taiwanese, Canadians hike stake in Qatar project: Two Taiwanese and a Canadian energy firm have increased their stake in a \$600 million Qatar petrochemical project after France's Total SA pulled out in April, a senior Qatari official said yesterday.

State-owned Chinese Petroleum Corporation (CPC) of Taiwan has raised its equity to 20 percent in Qatar Fuel Additives Company (Qufac), which is setting up a complex to produce methanol and the environment-friendly methyl tertiary butyl ether (MTBE) in Messafed, Qatar.

Both CPC and LCYCIC have laced their equity participation with an offer to buy a third of Qufac's output, sources said. *Reuter*

Real yields of provident funds negative in May

Jerusalem Post Staff

MOST of the banks' provident funds achieved average negative real yields of more than 0.3 percent last month, while in the first five months of the year the funds registered mixed returns, according to figures published by the banks yesterday.

The banks said the results were influenced by the continued drop in the share market, the continued devaluation of the dollar-shekel rate and the mixed trend on the index-linked bonds market.

The banks' calculation of the real return in May was done according to the April Consumer Price Index, which rose 1.7%.

Among the three largest funds, Bank Leumi's Otzma was the best performing, achieving a real negative yield of 0.43% in May and accumulated yield of 0.01% since the start of the year.

Bank Hapoalim's Gadish fund,

the largest in the country, reported a negative real yield of 0.5% last month. In the first five months of the year, the fund achieved an accumulated negative return of 0.1%. Gadish manages assets of NIS 13.32 billion.

The Tamar fund, Bank Discount's largest, registered a negative real return of 0.74% in May. Since the start of the year, the fund has accumulated a negative return of 1.03%. Tamar manages assets of NIS 10.96.

United Mizrahi Bank's Atid fund achieved a real negative yield of 0.45% in May. In the first five months of the year, it accumulated a negative return of 0.08%.

First International Bank's Meivtan fund, which manages assets of NIS 987m, achieved a negative real return of 0.36% in May and an accumulated real return of 0.48% since the start of the year.

83 kibbutzim: NII withheld child benefits

DAVID HARRIS

EIGHTY-THREE kibbutzim are taking legal action against the National Insurance Institute, claiming it owes them approximately NIS 21 million in child allocations.

The kibbutzim say the shortfall occurred during the seven years up to 1993, and cite a variety of alleged misdemeanors on the part of the institute.

The Labor Court will hear, for example, that during that period, child benefits were reduced for some of the time for the second child.

Among the general population, families whose income was

80-95 percent of the national average did not suffer a reduction. However, such families on kibbutzim received reduced payments.

The lawyer for the kibbutzim, Michal Shaked, says her clients have been dealt with unfairly and the matter is only being brought to the courts now, because time and again the NII refused to reimburse the kibbutzim.

A NII spokeswoman said yesterday that while she could not comment on the current situation for legal reasons, the kibbutz movement gave its approval when the measures were first introduced.

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Manufacturers Association signs software cooperation deal with Brazilian state body

THE Manufacturers Association said yesterday it has signed a cooperation agreement with a Brazilian government body for the development and marketing of software technology.

The association said in a statement that the memorandum of understanding with Softeq 2000, the Brazilian government body in charge of developing its local software industry and boosting exports, envisioned creation of a joint research and development fund.

The agreement, signed last month during a visit by the association's software group to Brazil, also includes cooperation between the countries in the marketing of jointly developed software products and financing joint software development projects between Israeli and Brazilian universities.

Amram Shore, who heads the software section and was in Brazil

for the agreement, said a delegation of Softeq representatives and Brazilian industry heads will visit in the coming months.

Shore said the agreement will allow Israel to double its exports of software to Brazil in the next few years to some \$20 million annually.

Israel exported about \$300m. worth of software worldwide last year. (Reuter)

Reading between the lines... you have time for trading action until 11 PM.

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ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patrah (foreign currency deposit rates) (6.5.96)

Currency (deposit base)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	4.88	4.70	5.20
British sterling (£100,000)	4.25	4.25	4.25
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.70	1.70	2.12
Swiss franc (CHF 200,000)	0.50	0.50	0.70

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (7.6.96)

CURRENCIES AND BANKNOTES	BUY		SELL	
	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell
Currency basket	0.415	0.415	0.415	0.415
U.S. dollar	3.2379	3.2707	3.15	3.1469
German mark	2.1171	2.1818	2.08	2.0751
British sterling	5.0080	5.0880	4.82	4.8250
French franc	0.0247	0.0248	0.02	0.02015
Japanese yen (100)	2.5793	3.0274	2.52	3.0042
Dutch guilder	1.8222	1.9222	1.82	1.82
Swiss franc	2.5702	2.6117	1.85	1.8073
Scandinavian krona	0.4812	0.4880	0.47	0.4690
Norwegian krona	0.4252	0.4322	0.42	0.4190
Danish krona	0.5494	0.5573	0.53	0.4962
Portuguese escudo	0.0289	0.0291	0.027	0.0267
Canadian dollar	2.2718	2.4101	2.25	2.3917
Australian dollar	2.2822	2.5834	2.20	2.46
S. African rand	0.1489	0.1584	0.147	0.1525
Belgian franc (10)	1.0251	1.0454	1.01	1.01
Austrian schilling (10)	3.0088	3.0572	2.95	1.07
Italian lira (100)	2.0633	2.1271	2.05	2.11
Jordanian dinar	—	—	4.51	4.51
Syrian pound	—	—	0.81	0.82
Irish punt	4.0012	4.0728	3.91	1.90
Spanish peseta (100)	1.5151	1.5140	1.51	1.4941
—	2.0035	2.0438	2.00	1.9775
—	—	—	2.29	2.2890

* These rates vary according to bank. ** Bank of Israel.
SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

Handwritten text in a box at the top center of the page.

Table with 2 columns: Key Representative Rates, US Dollar, Sterling, Mark.

Precious metals close lower COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

PRECIOUS metals futures eased back and closed lower on Friday after failing to hold gains made after the release of the US May non-farm payrolls data.

The data posted a surprisingly higher figure than what had been expected. August gold closed 80 cents lower at \$387.60, and July silver finished the session down 2.2 cents at \$17.73.

High-grade copper futures posted a higher close Friday as buying (mainly short-covering) and technical factors worked to push copper prices upward. July high-grade copper futures closed up 345 basis points at \$1,071.00.

A late-day rally helped to support corn and wheat futures at Friday's close, allowing September corn to touch limit up (12 cents) and wheat to make new session highs after a lackluster day.

Sources said short covering and light fund buying helped to move September corn to limit up, although in general fund selling was a feature in the deferred months.

Advertisement for M.H. MEYERSON & CO., INC. featuring a large graphic of a person's face and contact information.

Soros: Regulate currency markets

FRANKFURT (Reuters) International financier George Soros called in a magazine interview for internationally effective regulations against excessive speculation in financial markets.

Hungarian-born Soros is best known for waging a speculative bet in 1992 that the British pound would fall. He made \$1 billion in profits in trading that sent the pound crashing and forced Britain out of the European exchange rate grid.

Existing rules against such speculation are insufficient, he said. "Governments are unable to keep pace with their laws because the market is highly innovative," he said.

"If people like me can crash a currency system, there is certainly something wrong with the system," Soros told Germany's Der Spiegel magazine in an interview to be published today. "But it is always easier to blame the speculator and not yourself."

Existing rules against such speculation are insufficient, he said. "Governments are unable to keep pace with their laws because the market is highly innovative," he said.

Soros also said in the interview that he saw good chances for a single European currency to begin as planned in January 1999, as outlined in the Maastricht Treaty, but that nations must work harder to fulfill convergence criteria.

The treaty calls for nations to meet goals on budget deficits, budget debts, inflation levels and long-term interest rates to qualify for the new currency.

He also set out the condition that banks financing the ships now under construction would have to agree to cover the costs and possible losses of the new yard.

Gdansk shareholders vote for bankruptcy

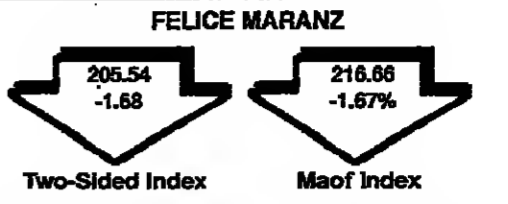
GDANSK, Poland (Reuters) - Poland's Treasury voted over the weekend to push the debt-ridden Gdansk shipyard, birthplace of the Solidarity union, into bankruptcy.

"I agree with the sequence of actions proposed by management, under which a new Gdansk Shipyard will first be created and properly equipped, then a motion put for the bankruptcy of the yard," Kaczmarek said in a statement.

experience of two generations, and will entail high social costs," he added. Goluch said the yard would have agreements to build 18 ships, for \$580 million, but that only four ship operators were willing to transfer their orders to the proposed new firm.

Indexes fall 1.7%

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET



STOCK indexes fell yesterday, tracking declining share prices in Israeli companies traded on Wall Street, including Teva and Koor.

The Maof Index fell 1.67 percent to 216.66, and the Two-Sided Index dropped 1.68% to 206.54. Of 987 shares trading across the exchange, 17 shares fell for every 10 that rose; no shares on the Maof Index rose.

Gazit said. Declining shares included American Israeli Paper Mills Ltd., which fell 1.25%. The company said yesterday it closed a joint venture with Texas-based Kimberly-Clark Corp. to produce paper here.

Investors are also waiting for Prime Minister-elect Binyamin Netanyahu to announce the composition of his government. There is concern that he might appoint Ariel Sharon as finance minister.

US: Grain-feed prices to remain high

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas (Reuters) - Feed grain prices will remain high for an indefinite period, exceeding the robust levels of five years ago, US Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman said over the weekend.

"We're in for a long period of higher grain prices, there's no question about it," Glickman said. "I can't predict how high or how long, but I think they'll go higher than five years ago," Glickman said, speaking to reporters following a luncheon speech to a farm advocacy group in Little Rock, Arkansas.

World sugar ended barely changed in a thin trading session, with the July contract closing off .02. At 11:58, July coffee futures settled higher on the day on fund and speculative buying, with light buy stops, traders said.

But since that time, grain prices have repeated by some 20 percent. "We're monitoring the situation and trying to even out the crisis points in the picture," Glickman said.

The Clinton administration announced last week it would release 45 million bushels of feed grain to help Midwestern ranchers cope with the worst drought of the century.

Despite the shortages, Glickman said supply and demand for feed grains were "in a more realistic equilibrium."

Strong yen hurts Chinese Treasury

BEIJING (Reuters) - Heavy exposure to the yen and a desire to cut borrowing risk is pushing China to lengthen the term of its debt and change its foreign currency structure, state media and analysts said yesterday.

China would borrow more from abroad to finance key construction projects, but would also adjust the foreign currency make-up of its debt to make it match foreign exchange income and reserves, the China Daily Business Weekly said.

Concern about the foreign currency composition of China's national debt was the result of the rise of the Japanese yen, said a foreign financial analyst in Beijing.

Business Weekly said. It gave no details of the rest of the debt. "The scale of China's yen loans are no secret," the analyst said. "They have obviously incurred losses."

China's reserves reached a record \$81.8b. at the end of April this year, up from \$80.83b. at the end of March, state media have said.

Long-term, preferential loans would be favored over risky short-term loans and more than 60% of such credit would be directed at infrastructure projects in central and western China as part of tighter controls on borrowing, the State Planning Commission official said.

Debt plan for poor countries could cost \$5.6 billion

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - A proposed plan to help the very poorest countries reduce overwhelming debt burdens could cost the international community an additional \$5.6 billion or more over the next several years, a confidential IMF and World Bank paper said yesterday.

The paper, which will be discussed by the World Bank board today, said that if export growth in the poor countries did not keep up with projections, the cost could be as much as \$7.7b.

The IMF and World Bank paper calls for countries and commercial creditors to provide some \$3.6b. over as much as six years, with the vast majority of this coming from the Paris Club of official creditors.

Among other subjects, the leaders will discuss plans to help the very poorest countries reach a level of debt they can service without worsening their already perilous conditions.

'Harrods may be set for share float'

LONDON (Reuters) - Harrods, the landmark London department store owned by the Egyptian Fayed brothers, may be set for a share flotation, a newspaper reported yesterday.

Britain's Sunday Times newspaper said the flotation, which the Fayed brothers were discussing with advisers and investment bankers, could raise as much as £2 billion.

Large table titled 'TEL AVIV STOCKS' containing multiple columns of stock data including names, prices, and volume.

Commenting on the report, a Harrods spokesman said: "At the end of another successful year of trading, Harrods is examining a number of options in the next stage of its planned expansion."

The brothers paid £573 million in 1985 for Harrods' owner, House of Fraser. They then floated off other Fraser stores while enlarging Harrods.

Advertisement for ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK with logo and slogan 'THE PEOPLE YOU CAN TALK TO'.

Kafelnikov beats Stich to win French Open

PARIS (Reuters) - Yevgeny Kafelnikov won a tense battle of nerves against Michael Stich in the French Open final yesterday to become the first Russian to take a grand slam title.

Stich created many opportunities and saved three match points but could not deflect the Russian's march to victory, a volley into the net on the fourth match point allowing Kafelnikov to win 7-6, 7-5, 7-6 after two-and-a-half hours.

The 22-year-old Kafelnikov, appearing in his first grand slam final after reaching the semifinals here last year, turned up for yesterday's crowd and lifted his arms up in the air after winning a match which could have gone either way. But the young Russian from the Black Sea resort of Sochi, who had knocked out world number one Pete Sampras in the semi-

finals, showed superior mental strength when it mattered most.

"I'd like to thank Michael for letting me win my first grand slam tournament," Kafelnikov, the sixth seed, said referring to Stich's stumbles at key moments.

Stich will forever rue the second set when he led 5-2 only to drop his serve three successive times to fall two sets down after looking certain to level the match.

Kafelnikov, the first player from the former Soviet Union to reach a grand slam final since Alex Metreveli at Wimbledon in 1973, had warmed up for yesterday's clash in style by winning the doubles on Saturday with Czech partner Daniel Vacek.

His victory over Stich earned him a 3.4 million francs (\$700,000) check and made him the first player to win both titles at

the French Open since Australian Ken Rosewall in 1968.

Stich, who had knocked out holder Thomas Muster of Austria on his path to the final, relied on the heavy artillery which helped him win Wimbledon in 1991 in hold his serve in the first set.

But he failed to break his opponent and a tie-break was needed. Kafelnikov won it 7-4 with Stich netting a backhand on set point.

The 27-year-old German, who had also appeared in the 1994 US Open final, fought his way back into the match by breaking Kafelnikov in the first game of the second set and again in the seventh to go 5-2 up.

But a superb passing shot allowed the cool Russian to break back in the next game. He then held his serve and took Stich's to level it at 5-5 before eventually

winning the set 7-5 with the German hitting a volley wide on set point.

Stich again went on the offensive at the start of the third set, breaking Kafelnikov's serve as he took a 3-1 lead.

But the Russian, far more efficient from the baseline, forced him into a series of long rallies to break him in the eighth game and make it 4-4.

Kafelnikov held serve and had two match points in the next game after Stich made an unforced error followed by a double fault. The Russian wasted the first by hitting a return into the net and Stich saved the second with a blistering winning forehand.

A tiring Stich, sometimes erratic, sometimes brilliant, forced another tie-break but again lost it 7-4 to bow out after a breathtak-

ing, if not classic match.

"After a few games, it became obvious that the game would be tight," said a relieved Kafelnikov.

"At times, I thought I would never win it," added the Russian, who will climb two places to fifth in the next ATP Tour rankings.

	KAF	STICH
Aces	10	14
Service winners	18	14
Double faults	8	6
First serve pct.	52	46
First Serve Points Won	33	48
Second Serve Points Won	31	38
Breaks	4	8
Break Points Saved	8	8
Winning Returns	0	1
Unforced Errors	44	56
Forehand Winners	15	8
Backhand Winners	8	10
Winning Net Points	13	18
Passing Shot Winners	11	3
Winning Drop Shots	1	3
Points Won	136	125
Decays on serve	11	8
Love Games	2	0

Avalanche 1 game away from sweep

MIAMI (Reuters) - Mike Keane and Joe Sakic scored 82 seconds apart in another big second period, and the Colorado Avalanche moved within one win of their first Stanley Cup with a 3-2 victory over the Florida Panthers on Saturday.

Patrick Roy made 32 saves, helping Colorado grab a commanding three games to none lead in the best-of-seven Stanley Cup Final.

Only one team, the 1942 Toronto Maple Leafs, has rallied from a 3-0 deficit to win the Stanley Cup.

Game Four is today at Florida. Roy stretched his personal winning streak in the Stanley Cup Finals to seven games and has not given up a goal in the second and third periods in this series.

Roy brought the city of Denver within one victory of its first major-league sports championship by stopping 18 shots in the final two periods.

He was seated on the ice when he stopped Rob Niedermayer on a rebound of Ed Jovanovski's shot with just under 14 minutes left in the second period. Five minutes later, Roy turned aside Martin Straka's drive from the lower left circle.

Keane broke a seven-game scoring drought when his wrist shot from the top of the left faceoff circle appeared to deflect past goaltender John Vanbiesbroeck off a Panthers' defender at 1:38. Vanbiesbroeck was screened by Mike Ricci, who drew a delayed penalty moments earlier when he was dumped by Florida defenseman Rohert

Sveha.

Sakic, denied three times on breakaways by Vanbiesbroeck in the first two games, gave the Avalanche their first lead at the three-minute mark. He took a pass from Adam Deadmarsh at the Panthers blue line, broke past defenseman Rhett Warrenner and roofed a shot over the goalie's left shoulder for his 18th playoff goal.

"Beezee (Florida goalie Vanbiesbroeck) has stopped me on four previous breakaways," said Sakic, who needs one more goal to tie the record for most goals in a single playoff year.

"This time I put it high to his stick side, which has given him some trouble with the other guys," Sakic said. "It worked. That gave us the lead, and after that it was just a matter of holding them off."

"I was happy with the way Claude Lemieux played," said Colorado coach Marc Crawford of his star player, who poked a six-foot pass past Vanbiesbroeck just 2:44 into the game.

Atherton steers England to easy win

BIRMINGHAM (Reuters) - Mike Atherton's England duly completed an eight-wicket victory over India on the fourth morning of the first Test yesterday.

Resuming their second innings at 73-1 and needing another 48 runs for victory, England hit off the runs in just over an hour. Atherton leading the way with an unbeaten 53.

The only wicket to fall was that of first innings century-maker Nasser Hussain, brilliantly caught in the second over of the day by Javagal Srinath off the bowling of Venkatesh Prasad for 19.

But Graham Thorpe with an unbeaten 17 helped Atherton to see England to a victory which puts them 1-0 up in the three-match series.

England goes into the second Test at Lord's, starting on June 20, as firm favorites after generally outplaying India. Only an excellent 122 by Sachin Tendulkar in the second innings on Saturday saved India from a more comprehensive defeat.

After a miserable winter in South Africa and in the World Cup, Atherton felt better fielding had been a significant reason for his side's improved fortunes.

He said: "We decided one of the main things at selection was to pick a good fielding side and that invariably involves fresh legs and I thought the fielding here was a real plus factor for us."

"We caught everything that came our way. We had a run-out or two and that was a real factor in our win."

Atherton included two classic cover-driven boundaries off successive balls from Srinath on his way to a 96-ball half century, his 28th score of 50 or more in Tests.

But Hussain, having added a single to his overnight 18, hooked at Prasad's first ball and Srinath, making ground from the deep, dived forward to hold a coura-

geous catch.

However, Hussain was named man-of-the-match for his first innings 128, just ahead of Tendulkar.

England's victory prompted bookmakers Ladbrokes to quote the home side at long odds on of 1-6 to win the series with India now at 20-1. A drawn series is rated 4-1.

Atherton hinted strongly that Hussain could solve the long-standing problem with the England number three batting position. "I think it could be safe for a while. He had a fantastic game in really difficult circumstances," said the captain.

"For us as a team and him coming back into Test cricket after a three-year absence, I thought it was a fantastic performance."

Atherton was also delighted with the performance of Chris Lewis, who claimed five Indian second-innings wickets for 72, also after being out of the Test scene for three years.

"We explained to Chris that we wanted him to be our strike bowler, bowling in short spells of no more than five or six overs," said Atherton.

"He put whole-hearted effort into those short spells and it's paid dividends. He is maturing as a person and a cricketer."

India first innings 214 (J.Srinath 52, O.Cork 4-61)
England first innings 313 (N.Hussain 128)
India second innings 219 (S.Tendulkar 122)
England second innings (overnight 73-1)
M.Atherton not out14
N.Knight 8 & Prasad14
M.Hussain c Srinath by Prasad17
C.Thorpe not out18
Extras 0-8 (b-7, w-1 nb-2)
Total (two wickets, 33.5 overs)121
Fall of wickets: 1-37 (2-77)
Bowling: Srinath 14.5-3-47-0, Prasad 14-0-50-2, Kumble 5-3-9-0
Result: England won by eight wickets and take a 1-0 lead in the three-test series.
Second Test: June 20-24, Lord's.
Third Test: July 4-9, Trent Bridge.

Germany beats Czech Republic, 2-0

MANCHESTER (AP) - Identical first half strikes by Christian Ziege and Andreas Moeller powered two-time titlist Germany to 2-0 victory over the Czech Republic in the European soccer championship yesterday with star striker Jurgen Klinsmann watching from the stands.

Ziege drove home a low shot after 25 minutes from the edge of the area and Moeller hit the same corner of the net from almost the same position seven minutes later.

Although the Czechs threatened occasionally afterwards, the Germans, who won the trophy in 1972 and 1980 as well as being a two-time runner up, remained in control and could have added more goals in the Group C game.

Now the Germans go on to play Russia June 16 and then Italy three days later in the race to gain a place in the last eight.

One problem for coach Bert Vogts was that English referee David Elleray showed the yellow card to six of his players as well as four of the Czech team.

That means Christian Ziege, Stefan Kuntz, Andreas Moeller, Markus Bahnel, Stefan Renter and Thomas Hessler all will miss games if they get antioyed again. So will Czech players Radek Bejbi, Pavel Nedved, Miroslav Kadic and Radek Drukak.

Forced to play without Klinsmann, who ironically missed through the game through suspension, Germany soon lost the player who replaced him as captain. Only 10 minutes had gone when Jurgen Kohler went off with a knee injury and was replaced by Markus Babel.

Spain 1, Bulgaria 1
At Leeds, Hristo Stoichkov scored from a penalty, a substitute equalized with his first touch of the ball and two

players were expelled in three minutes as Bulgaria and Spain fought out an explosive European Championship tie.

"It was a battle that ended without a winner," Stoichkov said after the dynamic match.

Stoichkov, playing against some of his former Barcelona teammates, fired the Bulgarians ahead in the 63rd minute from the spot and Alfonso Perea tried to a shot from Sergi Barjuan only seconds after running on as a substitute 10 minutes later.

His goal sandwiched the two first two expulsions of Euro 96. Bulgarian defender Peter Hachev was sent off just before the equalizer and Spain's Juan Antonio Pizzi saw the red card a minute after it.

Italian referee Piera Ceccarini handed out yellow cards to seven other players, four Spaniards and three Bulgarians, even though the play was not that rough.

The result gives both teams a point each in the Group B standings. The other two teams in the group, Romania and France, meet today at Newcastle.

Portugal 1, Denmark 1
At Sheffield, Defending titlist Denmark squandered Brian Laudrup's first half goal and was held to a 1-1 draw in its first European Championship game.

After Laudrup had given the Danes a 22nd minute lead with an opportunistic strike, Ricardo Sa Pinto capped a strong Portuguese fightback by heading home an equalizer eight minutes after halftime.

The fact that the two teams have a point each means that the winner of Tuesday's other Group D game between Turkey and Croatia will top the standings.

Euro 96
Yesterday: (At Leeds) Spain 1, Bulgaria 1; (At Manchester) Germany 2, Czech Republic 0; (At Sheffield) Denmark 1, Portugal 1
Today: (At Birmingham) Netherlands vs. Scotland; (Chanel 1, Live at 8:30 pm); (At Newcastle) Romania vs. France (Chanel 1, Live at 9:30 pm).
Tomorrow: (At Liverpool) Italy vs. Russia (Chanel 1, Live at 8:30 pm); (At Nottingham) Turkey vs. Croatia (Chanel 1, Live at 9:30 pm).

Alexsev sends Israeli relay team to Atlanta

ISRAEL will have a relay swim team at the Atlanta Olympics for the first time.

Vadim Alexsev, the breaststroke member of the foursome, who has been sidelined since February with a pelvic injury, returned yesterday at the 11th hour to fulfill the criterion and ensure the relay team's participation in Atlanta.

Alexsev achieved his comeback at an international competition in Switzerland.

The time set for Alexsev to beat in the 100-meter breaststroke was 1:04.5 and although he finished first in the preliminary rounds, his time was only 1:05.20.

Yet in the final, under tremendous pressure not to let his teammates down, he finished first with 1:04.25, taking the gold medal.

This competition marked the last opportunity for Alexsev to make the Olympic squad which will be announced this Wednesday.

Besides Yoav Bruck who was already assured of his Olympic berth, Alexsev's result finalizes the dream for Dan Kutler and Elyan Orbach, the other 4x100m relay swimmers.

Depending on Alexsev's fitness, he is now eligible to compete in the individual as well as the relay events at Atlanta.

An overjoyed Alexsev said yesterday, "I'm very happy, not only for myself but for the whole team."

Chairman of the Israel Swimming Association, Pinchas Peled, expressed his delight that the relay team would debut in the Olympics.

At the same event, Kutler was first in the 50m butterfly with a time of 25:80.

HEATHER CHAIT

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL - Saturday's AL results: Detroit 5, New York 7; Cleveland 5, California 6; Chicago 2, Baltimore 1; Minnesota 4, Oakland 2 (1st); Oakland 13, Minnesota 7 (2nd); Milwaukee 3, Boston 2 (3rd); Kansas City 12, Seattle 8; Texas 4, Toronto 6.
Saturday's NL results: Houston 7, Philadelphia 3; Colorado 13, Atlanta 12; San Francisco 4, St. Louis 1; New York 7, Florida 6; Chicago 6, Montreal 4; Los Angeles 5, Cincinnati 4 (8th); Pittsburgh 9, San Diego 8 (4).

CRICKET - Results of English Sunday League cricket matches:
At Haslemere: Yorkshire beat Surrey by eight wickets. Surrey 96, Yorkshire 93-2.
At Trent Bridge: Northamptonshire beat Nottinghamshire by five wickets. Nottinghamshire 157-4, Northamptonshire 150-5 (R.Montgomery 77).
At Southampton: Hampshire beat Derbyshire by five wickets. Derbyshire 226-7, Hampshire 181 not out. Hampshire 227-4 (Z.Saunders 91).
At Lord's: Middlesex beat Glamorgan by eight wickets. Glamorgan 221-6, Middlesex 103-5. Middlesex 222-2 (P.Wesley 125 not out, M.Golding 76).
At Hove: Sussex beat Warwickshire by six runs. Sussex 217-7, Warwickshire 211-7. Middlesex 65.
At Chesham: Essex beat Leicestershire by 17 runs. Essex 249-6, Leicestershire 132 (G.Coach 57, P.Pickford 50, Leicestershire 232 (M.Walton 58, A.Grayson 4-6)).
At Leicestershire: Kent beat Lancashire by four wickets. Lancashire 311-4, Kent 297-7 (P.Slimmon 139, V.Wells 64, Kent 314-6 (C.Hopper 145, M.Falham 50)).
At Taunton: Gloucestershire beat Warwickshire by 26 runs. Gloucestershire 249-7, Warwickshire 123 (R.Smith 97).

NBA Finals - at a glance
(Best-of-7)
Last night: Chicago at Seattle (TV: Channel 5, Today at 7 am, 6 pm)
Wednesday: Chicago at Seattle (TV: Chan. 3 (Cable 33), Thurs. LIVE at 4 am, rebroadcast at 7 am).
Chicago leads series 2-0

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48th YEAR

Israel-Jordan bus services Shahal begins farewell tour make trial journeys

THE bus fare from Tel Aviv to Amman is to be NIS 23 each way and the trip will take about four-and-a-half hours. Dan spokesman Itzik Kagan said yesterday, following the first test run.

The Dan bus was one of three making the practice run. The other two belonged to the Nazareth Transport and Tourism Company, which sent buses to Amman from Nazareth and Haifa.

Kagan said that although there were no paying passengers, the bus did carry a number of drivers who are to be making the Jordan run. He said that the regular bus service, No. 333, is scheduled to begin on July 1. Stations along the way include the Central Bus Station, Arlozoroff Terminal,

HAIM SHAPIRO

Afula, and Beit She'an. The buses are to leave Tel Aviv, Sunday through Thursday at 7 a.m., and leave Amman at 2:30 p.m.

According to the Transport Ministry, border formalities on both sides took about 50 minutes for each bus. The ministry said that the buses had heavy security protection all along their route and that they were met in Amman by Ambassador Shimon Shamir.

"This is perhaps the most important step because it serves the people and will help convert the peace between the governments into peace between the peoples," Shamir told AP said after the first

bus arrived.

According to the ministry, the arrangements were made possible following the establishment of a special Jordanian company, the International Jordanian Transport Company, which is to run buses to Israel. The new company is composed of a number of Jordanian transport entrepreneurs, the ministry said.

Last week, representatives of the new company visited Israel to check the arrangements and meet with ministry officials. According to the agreement with Jordan, the six bus lines between the two countries are to be: Tel Aviv-Amman, Haifa-Amman, Haifa-Irbid, Nazareth-Amman, and Nazareth-Irbid.

RAINE MARCUS

INTERNAL Security Minister Moshe Shahal began a farewell tour of all police and border police headquarters yesterday, as he prepared to leave the ministry after four years.

Starting off in the Central District, where he initiated his separation plan in the Green Line area, he was greeted by an honor guard of honor. Smiling, Shahal said goodbye to representatives from each unit.

When asked about the future of his separation plan, he replied that it depends on the new government's policy.

"I presume that the new government will examine the plan, which is an ideological one - to separate the two peoples and to avoid terror attacks and crime," said Shahal. "I am not certain that the new government will agree. The Likud's policy is somewhat contradictory - its ideology is to mix the two peoples."

Central District police chief Shlomo Aharonishky thanked Shahal for his support and other speakers, including Kfar Sava Mayor Yitzhak Wald, Taihe Mayor Rafik Haj Yihye, and other regional council leaders gave speeches.

Shahal said that when he came into office there were 18,000 policemen nationwide, and now there are 28,500.

"There were supposed to be 30,000 policemen by the end of this year," he said. "We have expanded the force to include Moslems, Druze, Beduin, and other minorities."

He blasted Finance Minister Avraham Shohat for refusing funds to policemen suffering from disabilities and called him "hard-nosed and heartless."

Shahal described his "very sad and difficult feelings" at leaving the ministry.

"This is probably the most exciting ministry in the government," he said. "You are in constant touch with people. I am leaving a sadder man - I was with the police both at celebrations and funerals. I was awakened in the middle of the night with news of disasters. And I won't forget those moments in Ichilov Hospital's trauma unit



Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal reviews an honor guard during a farewell visit to Border Police headquarters yesterday.

the night when Yitzhak Rabin was murdered. Nor will I forget the first reaction of assassin Yigal Amir when he was arrested."

When asked what kind of ministry he was leaving to his successor, Shahal said that more must be done to deal with criminal investigations,

especially wide-scale financial ones, road accidents, car thefts, and that community policing should be implemented to prevent crime.

After his visit, Shahal went on to ceremonies at the Border Police headquarters, followed by a visit to Prisons Service headquarters.

Haggai Amir protests prison conditions

RAINE MARCUS

HAGGAI Amir has appealed to Tel Aviv District Court in protest of his conditions in Ayalon Prison's Nitzan lock-up.

Amir, his brother Yigal, and Dror Adani are on trial for conspiring to murder the late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and to harm Arah and their property, as well as weapons charges.

Lawyer Moshe Meroz filed the appeal yesterday, claiming that his client is being discriminated against, and is not being granted his rightful privileges as a remand prisoner.

Prisons Service spokesman Moshe Malu said that as far as he is aware, Haggai Amir is receiving all privileges allowed remand prisoners, but that the authorities will respond to the appeal when requested and that the court will decide.

The trial resumes on Wednesday.

Oron to quit Histadrut, Ran Cohen may follow

MICHAL YUDELMAN

HISTADRUT treasurer MK Haim Oron has decided to leave the Histadrut, and Histadrut Parliament chairman MK Ran Cohen may also quit.

Oron is expected to be replaced by Mapam chairman Hanan Erez.

Oron and Cohen, of Meretz, are members of the Ram faction, formed by Interior Minister Haim Ramon, which triumphed in the Histadrut elections two years ago.

Oron assumed the treasurer's post following Ramon's victory in the Histadrut elections. As treasurer, Oron concentrated on dealing with the Histadrut's NIS 1 billion deficit and helped implement the massive cutbacks and dismissals in the Histadrut orchestrated by Ramon.

Ramon quit the Histadrut when he rejoined the government after the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin last November. He handed his post over to fellow Labor MK Amir Peretz, who was part of his Ram faction and was head of the federation's trade union section.

Peretz and Cohen were all expected to leave the Histadrut after the Knesset elections, on the assumption that Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Lahor would win.

But Labor's electoral defeat leaves Peretz in one of the most senior positions held by the party, and the Histadrut is now expected to return to the political arena both as the workers' representative in wage struggles with the government and as an electoral asset to Lahor.

Peretz asked Oron not to resign and to continue his efforts to balance the Histadrut's budget.

Meanwhile, Pinni Kahhalo, secretary of the Beit She'an labor council, is expected to be appointed chairman of the Histadrut's trade union section, the post formerly held by Peretz.

IDF, SLA patrols ambushed by Hizbullah

HIZBULLAH gunmen ambushed an IDF patrol near the village of Reihan in the security zone in Lebanon yesterday. Three Sagger missiles were fired at the patrol, and one armored vehicle suffered a direct hit. There were no casualties.

"The vehicle is protected in a special way, which prevented a disaster," one IDF source said.

In a second attack, a roadside bomb was detonated alongside a South Lebanese Army patrol near Beit Yahoun. One soldier was seriously wounded.

Hizbullah took credit for both attacks, claiming the IDF and SLA had suffered many casualties.

(Itim)

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WEATHER

Haifa	21-29
Tiberias	21-30
Jerusalem	17-29
Beer Sheva	18-33
Dead Sea	25-35

Forecast: Hot and dry, humid along the coast.

AROUND THE WORLD

	C	F	H	
Abuja	21	70	32	80
Amsterdam	18	64	21	75
Antwerp	18	64	21	75
Bangkok	24	75	35	77
Beijing	18	64	21	75
Bombay	25	77	39	80
Buenos Aires	15	59	35	77
Calcutta	25	77	39	80
Chengde	17	63	27	81
Chongqing	17	63	27	81
Colombo	25	77	39	80
Hong Kong	25	77	39	80
London	15	59	35	77
Los Angeles	17	63	27	81
Madrid	14	57	32	90
Moscow	12	54	17	63
Paris	15	59	35	77
Perth	18	64	21	75
Rangoon	25	77	39	80
Singapore	25	77	39	80
Taipei	14	57	22	72
Tokyo	18	64	21	75
Ulaanbaatar	10	50	14	58
Vancouver	10	50	14	58
Warsaw	15	59	35	77
Washington	23	73	32	90
Zurich	17	63	27	81

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